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THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA

Irving chose the simple, chronological form of the chronicle as best adapted to preserve the antique flavor which he desired to impart to his narrative. To beguile his reader still more into the mediaeval mood, he chose to shelter his own personality behind an imaginary narrator whom he called Fray Antonio Agapida

Early Phases of the War

Nearly eight hundred years had passed since the defeat of Don Roderick by the Arabian invadors had sealed the doom of Spain. During this time Christian princes had gradually recovered their lands until, at the opening of the war, the single but powerful territory of Granada remained under Moorish dominion. But the Moorish kingdom was the fairest in Spain. It bordered the Mediterranean Sea and was defended on land by lofty mountains, whose valleys were fertile and beautiful beyond compare. Granada, the capitol and stronghold of the kingdom, lay in the center of the Sierra Nevada mountains. At the foot of the walled city lay fertile vegas or plains, orchards, gardens in which the orange, the citron, the fig, and pomegranite grew in profusion. Groves of mulberry trees fed the silk worms for that important industry.

The city covered two lofty hills. One of these was the royal palace and fortress of the Alhambra, a mighty pile capable of sheltering forty thousand men. On the opposite hill, on the summit of which was a spacious plain, was the fortress of the Alcabeza, at the foot of which lay the poor quarter of the city.

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The flat-roofed houses had interior courts and gardens, with a little fountain to cool the air. The whole city was surrounded by high walls, three leagues in circumference, with twelve gates and a thousand and thirty towers for purposes of defense.

This earthly paradise had been left in possession of the Moors for centuries, on payment of an annual tribute of two thousand pistoles of gold and sixteen hundred Moorish captives. Ferdinand and Isabella reigned over the united kingdoms of Castille, Leon, and Aragon. Muley Aben Hassan sat on the throne of Granada. He had succeeded his father Ismael in 1465. His power had been augmented by many cities contiguous to Granada, which had submitted to his rule when neighboring cities had fallen to the sword of the Christian. Hassan had once attended payment of the tribute at Madrid and had returned furious at the taunts of the Castilians. His refusal to pay further tribute precipitated the war.

In 1478 King Ferdinand set Don Juan de Vera the delicate task of collecting the annual tribute, which had been defaulted. Hassan replied: "Tell your sovereign that the kings of Granada, who used to pay tribute in money to the Castillian Crown, are dead. Our mint at present coins nothing but blades of scimitars and heads of lances." Spain would have resented this reply at once, but war with Portugal compelled her to wait for three years. Well aware that war was inevitable, Hassan determined to strike the first blow. He had amassed great wealth during a long, tranguil reign and had drawn auxiliary troops from the

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Barbary States. Information came to him that the Christian fortress of Zahara was feebly garrisoned and scantily supplied. Its alcayde, or military commander, furthermore, was careless in its defense, relying for safety upon the position of the fortress upon a high cliff. The only ascent to this fortification was by a road cut in the living rock.

One night a tempest of great violence raged about the fortress. The defenders were asleep and the sentinel had abandoned his post for protection from the storm. Muley Hassan led his troops through the darkness, planted his scaling ladders against the walls, and gained the parapet without being seen. The alarm found the Moors in possession. Soldiers rushed out of quarters, only to be cut down. Dawn broke to find the Moor master of the fortress. Hassan assembled the defenders and ordered them to be sent to Granada as captives. The natives of Granada found pity in their hearts for the miserable women and children, but the Moorish nobles rejoiced in the victory of Hassan. In the midst of the celebration at the Alhambra a withered old man stood forth in the assembly hall and denounced Hassam. This half-mad prophet shrieked out: "The peace is broken! The exterminating war is commenced! Woe! Woe to Granada! Its fall is at hand!" Hassan laughed, but the populace trembled at the words of the old man.

Expedition of the Marques of Cadiz against Alhama

Ferdinand now openly prepared for war against the Infidel. One of his distinguished military leaders was Don Roderigo Ponce

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de Leon, Marques of Cadiz, whose kingdom was so vast that he could assemble from his own vassals an army sufficient to awe the Moor. One day his spies brought word that the Moorish town of Alhama was weakly garrisoned. Like most forts of the day, it was situated on a high mountain commanding a defile and appeared impossible of capture. Ponce de Leon sent one of his captains of escaladors, Ortega de Prado, to spy out the land. He approached under cover of darkness, studied the positions of the sentinels, searched out the most easily scaled parts of the walls. The Marquis set out with three thousand light cavalry and four thousand infantry, marched only at night, and arrived undiscovered at Alhama about two hours before daybreak. Ortega was the first to mount the ladder and came upon the unsuspecting sentinel unawares. He seized him by the throat, ordered him to point the way to the guard room, and dispatched him with a poinard. Three hundred picked men had now gained the walls and a violent conflict took place in the court of the castle. At length de Prado succeeded in throwing open the postern; the rest of the Christain army entered and gained possession of the city.

But the town below the fortress was now alarmed. The Moors manned the walls, hoping to hold the city until the arrival of reenforcements from Granada. The Christians now found themselves in a position of peril, but the army attacked the walled town and succeeded in making a breach in the walls. All day the contest raged, but at length the Moors were driven to take refuge in a mosque near the walls, from which they kept up a galling fire

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upon the attackers. The Spaniards now made use of mantelets, a movable parapet of thick planks, to cover their approach and set fire to the door of the mosque. This brought the contest to a close and the soldiers were soon sacking the town. Unusual plunder was their reward. Prodigious quantities of gold and silver, jewels, rich silks, horses, cattle, grain and oil constituted some of the plunder, for Alhama was one of the richest cities of Granada. Many Christian captives were found buried in a Moorish dungeon and were released.

The Moorish populace of Granada were greatly troubled at the loss of Alhama and many recalled the words of the mad prophet. But Hassan resolved to recapture the city at once and set out with three thousand horse and fifty thousand footsoldiers. Arriving at the fortress he immediately stormed the town. Darts, stones and missiles of all kinds were hurled down upon the heads of his soldiers. Scaling ladders were overturned and the Moorish soldiery dashed down upon the cliff below. Hassan now ordered the walls to be undermined, but the fire of the Christians made every attempt to approach unsuccessful. He next bethought himself of diverting the river from which the castle obtained the water supply, the fort being destitute of all wells and cisterns. After a desperate conflict the Moors succeeded in building palisades which diverted most of the water in the river away from the fort. The defenders now began to suffer from lack of water and messengers were sent to Seville and Cordova imploring aid.

Ferdinand and Isabella were at Medina del Campo when news

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of the capture of Alhama and the desperate plight of Ponce de Leon reached him. The King took horse at once and rode desperately to Cordova, where he learned that the Duke of Medina Sidonia was already ahead of him with a large force. He sent orders for the Duke to await his coming, but it is significant of the times that the Duke sent back word that it was dangerous to delay in the enemy's country and that he must push ahead.

When Muley Hassan heard that the Duke of Medina Sidonia was approaching with reenforcements and that Ferdinand himself was on the way with additional troops, he knew that he must win at once if he were to win at all. Early one morning a body of his bravest cavaliers approached the town at a place considered inaccesable, placed scaling ladders in position and gained the parapet, while Hassan made a false attack on the town to divert attention. Many of the Moors were killed, but seventy of them succeeded in making their way to the gates to open them for their companions. At this moment additional Christian forces arrived and the Moors found themselves surrounded. Without asking quarter, they placed themselves back to back, with their banner in the center, and fought until the last man had been killed. Muley Hassan now realized that retreat was imperative and he hastened back to Granada, leaving the Spanish in possession of Alhama.

The Fall of Muley Hassan and the Rise of Boabdil el Chico

Muley Hassan was the possessor of a harem, as were all the wealthy Moors of the period. He had two queens of whom he was

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particularly fond. One of them, named Ayxa, was a Moorish woman who bore him a prince named Boabdil. At his birth the astrologers had informed his father that his son would sit upon the throne of Granada, but that the downfall of the kingdom would occur during his reign. This prophecy prejudiced Muley Hassan against his son, for whom he ever afterward showed an aversion.

The other wife for whom Muley Hassan showed partiality was a Christian captive named Zoraya, who became the mother of two princes. She possessed great intelligence and was ambitious for the rise of one of her sons to the throne. Such was the influence of Zoraya over him that Muley actually murdered some of his other sons at her behest. Zoraya next inflamed his mind against her rival, Ayxa, and induced him to confine her and her son Boabdil in a tower of the Alhambra. As Boabdil grew older Zoraya saw in him the only bar to the ascendency of her own sons and induced Muley to plot the murder of Boabdil. Zoraya was told to keep the kingly plans a profound secret, but in some manner Ayxa discovered what was afoot and lowered Boabdil in the night to her friends below, who placed the young prince on a fleet Arabian courser and spirited him to the city of Guadix.

Muley Hassan faced this state of affairs when he returned from his unsuccessful attempt against Alhama. A faction of Moorish nobles plotted to overthrow him and to place Boabdil on the throne. Upon his arrival at Granada he found the city gates closed to him and his son Boabdil proclaimed king. The old monarch retired to the city of Baza, thinking that the fickle Moors

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would change their politics again. One night he led a band of five hundred followers to Granada, scaled the walls of the city, and fell with fury upon its inhabitants. He thought that the nobles would espouse his cause once he was within the walls, but his tyranny had alienated noble and commoner alike, so he found himself vigorously attacked and was obliged to withdraw to the loyal city of Malaga, leaving Boabdil on the throne. Thus began the rivalry between father and son which was to do so much to weaken the Moorish cause.

Foray and Counter-Foray

Muley Hassan thought to regain the loyalty of his fickle people by a military victory against the Spaniards. His spies had brought him information that the territories of the Duke of Medina Sidonia were left unprotected by the zeal of their inhabitants in the expeditions of Ferdinand. These lands comprised rich grazing country and there was consequently an abundance of flocks and herds. Hassan now sallied forth with fifteen hundred horse and six thousand foot, planning to enter Andalusia between Gibralter and Castellar. He feared only Pedro de Vargas, alcayde of Gibralter, but he knew that his garrison was too small to admit of a foray against him. As he entered Spanish territory, he dispatched four hundred fleet lancers to watch the fortress. If de Vargas sallied forth, they were to att_ack him and were also to bring word to Muley Hassan that his retreat was menaced. He sent two hundred horsemen to scour the plains for herds, while he re-

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mained with the main body of his army on the banks of the Celemin.

Soon his foragers returned with large numbers of cattle and sheep, while the post stationed near Gibralter apprised him that the alcayde Pedro de Vargas was still unaware of his movements. As a matter of fact, de Vargas knew all about the expedition. Furthermore, the unexpected arrival of a squadron of armed galleys stationed in the strait permitted him to secure a temporary garrison, while he secretly set out with seventy horsemen for the little town of Castellar, a strong outpost which Muley would have to pass on his return journey. He also sent messengers far and wide and watch fires on every mountain-top announced that the alarm had been given.

As Muley Hassan approached Castellar, de Vargas saw that his cavalgada was half a league in advance of his rear guard. The vanguard was also almost as far in advance. These small bodies of men, thus separated by the flocks and herds, could aid one another little in case of attack. De Vargas concealed his little force in ambush ., but six Moorish horsemen scouting in advance came upon them. Two of the Moors escaped to give the alarm, but the advancing horsemen fell into another Spanish ambuscade and severe fighting occured. Fearing that Muley Hassan and the main body of troops might surprise them, de Vargas contented himself with victory over this small force and withdrew to Gibralter, leaving Hassan to return to Malaga unmolested.

King Ferdinand, mortified that the enemy had scored while he was absent, now determined upon a foray among the mountains

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of Malaga, Muley's own territory. One of his military leaders, the Master of Santiago, had received word from his spies that vast herds were to be had for the taking in the mountains of Malaga, and that even the city itself might be captured. The Marquis of Cadiz warned him that he had heard that these same mountains presented very formidable natural barriers, that the inhabitants were fierce fighters who defended their tremendous passes from the heights, and that there was no wealth in the country. But Spanish valor demanded vengeance and the Master of Santiago won the day. An unusually select group of Spanish noblemen made up the expedition, with their retainers. There was a great display of rich armour and costly equipment. A little group of merchants, mounted on mules, followed in the rear, to traffic for the booty which the expedition was expected to amass.

News of the foray, unfortunately, had reached El Zagal, the brother of Muley Hassan, who governed the city of Malaga. Fearing that his forces were insufficient to protect the city in case of attack, he decided to enter the mountains, arouse the peasantry, and attempt to drive back the invaders. As the Spanish forces invaded the mountains, the predictions of the Marquis of Cadez began to be verified. Cavalry was rendered useless by the impassable nature of the ground. Continual passage through deep passes commanded by great cliffs was necessary. Upon reaching the mountain hamlets, the invaders found them deserted. At length the Spaniards reached the heart of the mountainous district and found themselves at the bottom of a deep gorge. Scarcely had

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they begun to file along the tortuous trail when the Moors began the attack. Hugh boulders crashed down upon their heads. Darts and stones took constant toll, while the Spanish troops could not reach a single Moor. Endeavoring to escape, the Spanish cavaliers wandered up winding trails, only to find themselves unexpectedly in the hands of their Moorish enemies. Their guides became confused and led them deeper into the recesses of the mountains. Only a handful of cavaliers escaped, wandering among the mountains for eight days, living on roots and herbs and marching only at night. The spot where the greatest slaughter occured was named the Hill of the Massacre and the disaster was a mortal blow to Spanish pride of arms.

Continued Struggle between Muley Hassan and Boabdil

The defeat of the Spaniards in the mountains of Malaga redounded to the credit of Muley Hassan, whose political fortunes now began to better. Boabdil therefore determined to win military renown for himself. Lucena, in the Andalusian country, offered possible capture. Surrounded by the flower of Moorish nobility, Boabdil took the field. At Loxa he was reenforced with the cavalry of old Ali Atar. The expedition made rapid progress into enemy country, but alarm fires gave notice of its discovery. It was determined to march rapidly to Lucena, attempt its capture, and then retreat.

Boabdil reached Lucena and summoned the city to surrender. Upon its refusal, he attacked the town, which made a sturdy

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resistance. Don Diego de Cordova, C_ount of Cabra, governor of the castle of Vaena, which was but a few leagues from Lucena, saw the alarm fires and discovered the attack on the neighboring city. With a small force he set out to do what damage he could to the Moor. Upon reaching Lucena he found the Moors had abandoned the attack on the city and were foraging the countryside. His spies later informed him that the enemy was gathered in a valley and apparently about to depart with their booty.

When the Spanish forces approached, a slight fog prevented the Moors from estimating their number. The Count de Cabra, finding himself on lower ground than the enemy, ordered his standard to be taken to higher ground. The rush of the enemy, when they saw this movement of his troops, was beaten back. At that moment the alcayde of Luque arrived with fifty horse and one hundred foot. He sounded an Italian trumpet, while he concealed his little force in a convenient wood. The trumpet of the Count of Cabra answered from another direction and the Moors thought themselves surrounded by a superior force. The obscurity of the fog aided the Spanish in their attack and the Moors broke in retreat. At a small stream Boabdil made a gallant stand, but he was supported by only a few of his bravest cavaliers, the foot-soldiers having crossed the river. His comrades were struck down, but they implored Boabdil to cross the stream while they held off the enemy. The King did so, took refuge in a thicket, but was discovered by three Spanish soldiers who were about to kill him when Don Diego de Cordova arrived and accepted him for ransom.

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The capture of Boabdil gave new impetus to the political fortunes of Muley Hassan. The loss of the army and the defeat and capture of Boabdil discouraged the inhabitants of Granada, who remembered the prophecy of the old soothsayer that disaster would come upon the King. When Ferdinand learned of the capture of Boabdil he was delighted at this opportunity to use the Moorish king as a pawn in the political game. Before reaching any agreement with him, therefore, he invaded Granada and ravaged the vega about the capital, as a gesture to convince the Moors that it would be wise to conclude a satisfactory treaty of peace with Spain.

At the conference to determine the fate of Boabdil, the Master of Santiago expressed the opinion that Boabdil should not be given his freedom. It was the object of Spain, he averred, to drive the Moor from the country and no compromise should be made with him. The Marques of Cadez pronounced the release of Boabdil a measure of sound policy, as the continuance of civil war among the Moors would weaken their resistance to the Spanish throne. Queen Isabella desired that Boabdil be released, on condition that he would become a vassal of Spain. Ferdinand agreed to release Boabdil upon his agreement to become a vassal to the Spanish throne, but he also added a requirement of tribute, military service, safe passage of Spanish troops through Boabdil's territory. This truce was to be maintained two years. The son of Boabdil and other noble Moorish youths were to be held by the Spanish monarch as hostages for carrying out the treaty.

The Moorish nobility scorned Boabdil for his treaty with

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Ferdinand and Isabella and many of the inhabitants of Granada looked upon him as a traitor. Muley Hassan hastened to accuse him of renouncing his religious faith and of aiding Spain in her attempt to overthrow Granada and felt renewed security in the belief that he was supported by public opinion. Boabdil was apprised of the conditions existing in Granada, but determined, upon his release, to enter Granada through the Albaycin--the poorer quarter of the city--in the belief that the merchants and the artisans would rise to his support and aid him to overthrow Muley Hassan's ascendency to the throne. Upon his secret entrance into the city at night, his mother Ayxa had large sums of money distributed among the populace in an effort to buy loyalty to her son. At dawn Muley Hassan and the nobles sought out the adherents of Boabdil's party and civil war raged throughout the day. At length the superior military training and equipment of the nobles overcame the disorganized resistance of the multitude and Boabdil sought refuge at Almeria, a neighboring city.

King Ferdinand's Change of Tactics against the Moor

In his study of the early period of the war Irving had found innumerable manuscript accounts of swift forays into the territory of Moor or Christian, with an occasional surprise attack against a walled city or fortress. The display of chivalry in both armies sometimes inspired admiration for personal prowess and many a cavalier looked upon military glory as his chief

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It remained for the practical mind of Ferdinand to abolish much of the glamor of warfare and to reduce the process of driving the Moors from Spain to a coldly scientific formula. The King had noted the effectiveness of his new ordinance in demolishing the Moorish fortresses and in the campaign of 1485 he had greatly increased the number of his lombards. He realized, moreover, that the day of the foray was ended. The problem now was to batter down the little circle of Moorish cities which blocked the way to Granada and made a siege of that city impossible. The walled cities of Coin and Cartama fell easy victims to his armies and he next turned to the important city of Ronda.

Ronda was considered impregnable. It was situated in the heart of a mountainous country upon an isolated rock and was protected by a strong citadel, with triple walls and towers. Ferdinand came upon the city during the absence of its alcayde, Hamet el Zegri, upon a foray in Andalusia. In four days his cannon had battered down three towers and great masses of the walls had been reduced to ruins. The Marques of Cadiz succeeded in cutting off the water supply of the city by mining a secret tunnel through which the inhabitants were accustomed to go in time of attack.

Hamet el Zegri returned to find his city under attack. He found it impossible to break his way through the Spanish army and was forced to be an idle witness of the demolition of Ronda. Stone and iron cannon balls were used to destroy the masonry, while great balls of tow, steeped in pitch and oil and gun-

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powder, set fire to the dwellings in the city. While this successful attack was scarcely long enough to be termed a siege, it did prove that gunpowder and iron could demolish a fortress thought to be impregnable.

The influence of the C_hurch in the councils of Ferdinand and Isabella was always in evidence. It now determined the next move in Ferdinand's drive against the Moor. The Bishop of Jaen ruled a bishopric situated on the frontier of Granada. Within four leagues of his territory lay the castles of Cambril and Albahar, from which constant forays were made against him. These castles were situated on two neighboring hills and commanded the road between, which crossed a bridge under the very guns of the forts. The worthy Bishop now besought Queen Isabella for aid against the maurading Moors, knowing that she would lend a favorable ear to a prelate and that her opinion would influence the King.

The Marques of Cadez was sent to keep watch upon Cambril and Albahar until Ferdinand could arrive with his heavy artillery. Mahomet Lentin, the alcayde, knew that only a narrow, precipitous path gave access to the castles and he considered himself quite safe from the possibility of artillery attack. But the Bishop of Jaen and the Queen had consulted together, with the result that six thousand men were set to work with pickaxes, crowbars, and other necessary implements to build a road through the very center of the mountains. In twelve days the way was open and the oxen dragged the heavy ordinance to the summit of the hill in

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triumph. A tremendous fire was opened from the neighboring heights and the walls of the castle soon breached. Any Moors attempting to repair the walls were shot down by ribadoquines and other small pieces of artillery. This type of warfare was especially galling to the Moor, who was at his best in swift cavalry dashes, but did not take kindly to a siege in which it was impossible for him to reach his foe. Francisco Ramirez de Madrid, the engineer in charge, placed some of his heaviest pieces of ordinance upon an eminence commanding the castle Albahar. Not a shot had to be fired, for the Moors had ample proof of the destruction to be expected and decided to surrender. The garrison of the two castles were permitted to withdraw to Granada with the honors of war, the Spaniards took possession, and the Church lands of the Bishop of Jaen suffered no more depredations at the hands of the Moor.

Political Development in Granada

The people of Granada were greatly dissatisfied with both Muley Hassan and Boabdil. The one had grown aged and infirm and had not dared to issue from Granada when Ferdinand had made a recent foray in the neighborhood. The other was a vassal of the Christian king, was generally regarded as doomed to failure, and lacked the ability to sway or hold men. El Zagal, the governor of Malaga, was suggested. He was a brother of Muley Hassan and thus acceptable to the nobles, while the populace regarded him as a great military leader. He was accordingly made King of

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Granada, though the almost immediate loss of the castles of Cambil and Albahar diminished his prestige somewhat.

As soon as El Zegal assumed the throne. he manifested a sudden interest in his brother's health. So great was his solicitude that he had him carefully removed to the town of Salobrena, together with his wife Zorayna and his children. He had not been there many days before he expired. His brother caused the treasure of Muley Hassan to be packed on mules and brought to Granada. He also had the body transported on muleback, like any peasant, and interred it secretly. The widow and the children he imprisoned in one of the towers of the Alhambra.

News of a formidable Spanish army assembling at Cordova brought new fear to Granada. The transient popularity of El Zagal had declined since his brother's death and the old restlessness was on the inhabitants of Granada. At that moment the old prophet, Hamet Aben Zarrax, surnamed El Santo, arose among them. His prophecy of woe to Boabdil had been fulfilled and the old man was reverenced by all. He warned the Moors of leaders who were unable to protect them, but were yet eager to govern. Why give up their lives in civil war for either El Zegil or Boabdil? Why not divide Granada between them to end the strife once for all? The prophet's suggestion was put into execution. The cities of Granada, Malaga, Velez Malaga, Almeria, Almunecar were given to El Zagal, and the remainder given to Boabdil. El Zagal did not dare refuse the arrangement and he thought to recover the rest of his former kingdom at some future time.

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The Christian attack upon Loxa interrupted the play of Moorish politics for a time. Boabdil felt himself absolved from all allegiance to Ferdinand, inasmuch as he held the city as a vassal of the Spanish king, yet that same king was engaged in an attack on the city. The Moorish leader led his army outside the city to prevent the Christians from gaining the heights of Albohacen. Wounded twice in the very first encounter, he proved himself still Boabdil the Unfortunate. But his army fought with such valor that they threatened to drive the Christians from their vantage ground. At this critical juncture King Ferdinand arrived with the main body of the army.

The English Earl of Rivers had joined Ferdinand in this campaign with a body of English yeomanry and archers. The Earl sought permission to enter the fight with his men and there was great rivalry between the Spanish and the English as to who would accomplish the most doughty deeds. The Christians now succeeded in driving the Moors into the suburbs of the city, where severe fighting occured. A stone struck the brave Earl, felling him senseless and knocking out two of his front teeth. Recovering consciousness, he continued to battle to uphold the traditions of Old England.

Here again it was the artillery which decided the outcome. Having obtained possession of the heights of Albohacen and the suburbs of the city, the Christians were able to choose the most favorable situations for their batteries. They soon destroyed the stone bridge by which the garrison made its sallies, and

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united the various camps by a wooden bridge. The final bombardment of solid shot and combustible tow balls proved irresistable and the city capitulated. Ferdinand was steadily clearing the way for the final siege of Granada.

The Siege and Capture of the City of Malaga

In his perusal of old manuscripts Irving was not only actuated by a desire to write an accurate chronicle of the times, but was equally desirous to reproduce the romance and color of the chivalrous Middle Ages. He was ever on the alert for the picturesque, human side of life and he found it often in the swiftly-moving pageant of Ferdinand's war against the Moors. In the siege of Malaga there is much that is unusual and dramatic in the extreme. As was so often the case, there was not only a military struggle between the Moor and the Christian, but also an internal struggle among the Moors themselves. The change of political fortune often threatened to change the entire military situation, as it eventually did at the siege of Malaga.

Malaga was one of the strongholds of the Moorish kingdom. It was protected on one side by the Mediterranean and on the other by a natural barrier of mountains. At one end of the city was the Alcazaba, or citadel, while on a rocky hill above this was located an immense castle. Malaga was possessed of a large and efficient garrison, as the Moors realized its importance. But the city was also the center of vast commercial operations and the fleets of wealthy merchants set sail from Malaga to every

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port in the Levant. The leader of this group of wealthy merchants was Ali Dordux. As is usual in a city of this type, the merchant class exercised great political influence. Fearing the results of a long siege, Ali Dordux and his wealthy friends sought out the alcayde, or governor of the city, and persuaded him that it would be far better for the city to come under the rule of the Christian king than to be destroyed, together with the commerce of the city. The alcayde accordingly agreed to permit Ali Dordux to arrange a capitulation of Malaga with the Christian king.

But the commander of the crag-built castle of Gibralfaro, which commanded both the citadel and the city, was a fierce old Moor named Hamet Zeli, once the redoubtable alcayde of the captured city of Ronda. His soldiers looked with contempt upon the commercial city. When they heard that Ali Dordux was about to surrender the city without a blow being struck, they were furiously resolved that this should never be. Hamet Zeli descended unexpectedly upon the city, put to death the brother of the alcayde and any others who objected to his methods, and then summoned the inhabitants of the city to a council. He demanded which of them was loyal to Muley Abdallah el Zagal. Each claimed to be a devoted adherent. He then caused himself to be chosen alcayde of Malaga and immediately manned the forts and towers with his own men.

On the approach of the Christian army Hamel el Zegri stationed his troops on a hill commanding the pass through which the Spanish army must pass. Other troops guarded the pass below.

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The Spaniards attacked with obstinate valor and a bitter struggle ensued. For six hours the outcome was uncertain, but a body of foot-soldiers of the Holy Brotherhood succeeded in gaining a place on the steep side of the mountain which overhung the pass, upon which the Moors gave up in despair. The summit of the hill commanding the pass was at last gained by the Spaniards and the Moors were driven into the castle of Gibralfaro.

Malaga was now surrounded by a circle of her enemies. The Marques of Cadez blocked the approach to the city on the side of the sea. A line of encampments extended to the seaboard, fortified by deep ditches and barricades. A fleet of armed galleys and ships rested in the harbor. One of the first acts of the Spaniards was to place five hugh lombards on the hill commanded by the Marques of Cadez, which bore upon the castle of Gibralfaro. It is interesting to note in the accounts of the siege that the custom of naming favorite cannon existed even in the fifteenth century. Seven great lombards which did great execution were affectionately called the Seven Sisters of Ximenes.

The courage of the Moors was increased by false tales of Spanish deserters, who told them that powder for the artillery was almost exhausted and that the Spaniards were deserting in droves. To convince the Moors that he meant to see the siege to a conclusion, Ferdinand sent for the Queen to join him at camp. The Spaniards now made great preparations for storming the city. Wooden towers were built, movable on wheels, each able to shelter a hundred men. They were equipped with ladders to be placed

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on the top of the wall. The old Roman device of the gallipagos, great wooden shields covered with wet hides to make them noncombustible, was also used. The walls were secretly mined at various points, supported by wooden props which were to be set on fire at the proper time, thus causing the wall to fall.

The Moors discovered the mines and counter-mined. When the tunnels met there was sanguinary fighting and the Christians were forced to withdraw. The horrors of famine were daily on the side of the Spanish. The merchants of Malaga conspired with Ali Dordux to surrender Malaga to the Christians. Secret negotiations were held with Ferdinand, but the discovery and capture of the messenger by the soldiers of Hamet el Zegri put an end to that.

Irving well illustrates the superstition of the period with the story of the Moorish santon, or holy man, Abrahin Algerbi. Inspired by his belief that he could aid the Moors, he appeared with a band of soldiers in the vicinity of Malaga. At dawn two hundred of the four hundred Moorish adventurers succeeded in cutting their way through the Spaniards and gained the city. Abrahin, however, remained alone on the hillside and permitted himself to be captured by the Spanish soldiers, who regarded him with awe and conducted him in safety to the camp. He aroused Spanish interest by insisting that Allah had revealed to him how Malaga was to be taken, but he refused to reveal his secret to anyone but Ferdinand himself. He was conducted to a tent near the royal pavilion in which Ferdinand was sleeping. The Marchioness of Moya and the son of the Duke of Braganza,

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with their attendants, occupied the tent. Ignorant of the Spanish tongue, Abrahin Algerbi thought himself in the presence of royalty. He asked for a jar of water and, as he drank, slightly released his arm from the grasp of the guard. Suddenly dashing the jar to the ground, he drew a scimitar from beneath his clothing and struck down the Duke in the belief that he was slaying Ferdinand, though he only succeeded in wounding him. The guard cut the Moor to pieces immediately and the body was thrown into Malaga from a catapult. From that time no Moor was ever brought into the presence of the sovereigns.

The Christians now approached their works to the walls, gaining one position after another, in preparation for a general assault. A bridge leading into the city, defended at each end by a strong tower, prevented an assault by the Spanish. Francisco Ramirez de Madrid was ordered to destroy it. He secretly dug a mine beneath the first tower and placed a heavy lombard, with its mouth directed upward, in the excavation beneath the tower. A burning slow-match provided the explosion at the proper time. He then advanced his artillery within easy range of the tower and kept the Moors occupied defending it. The powder train at length reached the lombard, which discharged its contents upward with tremendous power, completely demolishing the tower. After long and severe fighting de Madrid succeeded in capturing the other tower, thus opening the way for the attack on a general scale. This was one of the outstanding feats of the siege.

Another holy man, or dervise, had risen to power in Mala-

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ga. A giant negro, he proclaimed his prophetic powers and gained the confidence of Hamet el Zegri and his followers. He was the possessor of a great white banner whose sacred properties, he declared, would win the victory for the Moors. In spite of the opposition of the merchants of Malaga, el Zegri determined to risk all upon an assault upon the Spanish, led by the dervise with his sacred banner. A terrific battle followed, in which the dervise and his banner were cut down and the flower of el Zegri's army was put out of action. This defeat put an end to the military ascendency of Hamet el Zegri, who retired with the remnant of his followers to the castle of Gibralfaro.

Ali Dordux and four of the principal merchants of Malaga now sent emissaries to Ferdinand for terms of capitulation. The King, however, was incensed at the long and stubborn defense of the city and demanded unconditional surrender. Ali Dordux now held several conversations with the irate monarch, bringing him costly presents of gold, silk, jewels, and rare perfumes and spices. The merchant's gifts and his ability as a diplomat gradually changed the attitude of Ferdinand and he finally consented to make special terms with Ali and forty of the leading Moorish families which he named.

Irving calls attention to the unusual terms of surrender under which Ferdinand finally took possession of the city. Every inhabitant, instead of being enslaved immediately, was required to ransom himself at the rate of thirty pistoles of gold. Gold, jewels and other valuables were to be accepted at once in part

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payment--thus preventing their concealment or destruction by the inhabitants--and the balance of the ransom was to be paid within eight months, else they should all be enslaved. This heartless and calculating policy was considered a great stroke of statecraft in its day. Needless to say, all the inhabitants of Malaga eventually became slaves and the fate of the city became an historic calamity in the annals of Granada.

The Capture of Granada and the Ejection of the Moors from

Spain

The fate of Granada now hung in the balance. Moor and Christian alike realized that its downfall would signify the downfall of Moorish dominion in Spain. The turn of Moorish politics had brought Boabdil into power once more, who realized full well that he had nothing further to gain from the friendship of Ferdinand. Turmoil and uncertainty filled Granada, many of the nobles counseling surrender. But the military leader Musa aroused the Moorish fighting spirit of the populace and Boabdil decided that resistance should be made to the Christian.

Ferdinand understood that the immediate capture of the city was impossible. Always preferring to gain his end by art rather than by violence, he determined upon a long siege, trusting to famine to force capitulation. In previous raids Ferdinand had laid waste the country about the capital and he now proceeded to complete the process. He also guarded every possible approach to Granada, thus preventing any possible convoy of provisions from

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reaching the Moors. Muza made ferocious attacks upon the Christian camp with his cavalry and Ferdinand found it necessary to construct deep trenches and palisades. Muza also ordered his cavaliers to challenge the Spanish to individual combat, in which they were often victorious, but Ferdinand, realizing that these duels inspired the Moors with confidence, forbade them.

Among the exciting episodes Irving culled from his musty old tomes in the Jesuits' College in San Isidro was one concerning a Moorish cavalier named Yarfe. Queen Isabella was in residence at the camp. Knowing the reverence in which she was held by the Spaniards, he one day joined in a sally against the Christian camp. Leaping the barrier, he rode his horse close to the royal quarters without being intercepted and threw his lance into the ground in front of the royal pavilion. Attached to the lance was an insulting message to the Queen.

Such an incident aroused the Spanish nobles to fury and a fiery cavalier named Hernando Perez del Pulgar determined to avenge the insult to Isabella. In the dead of night he led forth a chosen band of cavaliers, attacked one of the gates of the city, and forced an entrance. In the ensuing commotion he raced his horse through the city streets until he came to the principal Moorish mosque. He had brought with him a tablet upon which he had inscribed in large letters the phrase "Ave Maria". This tablet he fastened with his dagger to the principal door of the mosque. Riding down those who interfered, del Pulgar succeeded in making his escape from Granada with the comforting thought that Spanish

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honor had been vindicated.

Amother bit of picturesque pagaentry occured one day when Queen Isabella and her royal train expressed an inclination to gaze upon the fair city of Gran_ada. With martial music and flowing banner the greatest lords and ladies of the Spanish court moved with proper ceremony to the little hamlet of Zubia, situated on the skirts of the mountain to the left of Granada, which commanded a view of the Alhambra. Spanish troops soon covered the mountain side to protect the royal train from attack.

But the Moors considered the presence of the Spanish troops an invitation to battle and soon a large body of Moorish cavalrymen poured into the plain. Isabella was conscience-stricken at the thought that her curiosity was about to cost human life and at once forbade the Marques of Cadez to attack. The Moorish cavaliers sallied several times from their ranks to discharge arrows at the Spanish soldiery, but the latter, for once, declined to accept the challenge. Then it was that Yarfe, that rare Moorish cavalier of spirit, touched the necessary match to the conflagration. This Moorish horseman, in full armor, rode his horse to the front of the Spanish column. Tied to the tail of his steed and dragging in the dust was the tablet which Hernando Perez del Pulgar had affixed with his dagger to the door of the mosque. Upon it was the inscription "Ave Maria".

Such indignity was too great to be borne and a Spanish cavalier, one Garcilasso, besought Ferdinand for permission to avenge it. Receiving it, he closed his visor, grasped his lance,

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and rode at Yarfe the Moor. The shock of their encounter was terrible. Both their lances shivered against the armor of the other and Garcilasso was almost thrown from the saddle. Each antagonist now circled about the other, endeavoring to cut down his opponent with the sword. The Moor had the advantage of weight and armor, but the Spaniard was more adroit in parrying blows. At length Yarfe, despairing of cutting down the Spaniard, drove his horse close to him and endeavored to wrest him from the saddle. Both men fell to the ground, the Spaniard underneath. Yarfe raised his poinard to end the encounter, when he was suddenly seen to fall. Garcilasso had shortened his sword, and as his adversary raised his arm to strike, had pierced him to the heart. The Spanish cavalier arose, despoiled his enemy, and placing the holy tablet on the end of his sword, rode in triumph to the Spanish lines. A general encounter now followed and the Moors were driven within the walls of Granada.

Dramatic events followed rapidly in the siege of Granada. The scene of the next one was the camp of Ferdinand and Isabella. This camp consisted of various tents of large size, often of silk, and adorned with costly tapestries and rich furniture. These tents were often divided into various compartments by painted linen hangings lined with silk. The Marques of Cadez had offered his pavilion for the use of the Queen. Night had fallen and Isabella knelt before her altar at her devotions. She was suddenly alarmed by a burst of flame. She turned to find the whole tent in a blaze and escaped from her silken prison with difficulty.

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A high wind fanned the conflagration and tent after tent fell a prey to the flames. Isabella's first thought was for the safety of the King, but Ferdinand had awakened instantly at the sound of the confusion and was at the entrance of his tent, prepared for what he thought was another attack of the enemy. There were many narrow escapes and the entire camp was reduced to ruins. At first it was thought that the conflagration was the work of some Moor who had made his way unsuspected into camp, but it later developed that a servant had placed a light too near a curtain, which the wind had blown into the flame.

Knowing that the Moors would gain encouragement from this disaster, Ferdinand determined to show them that he intended his stay at Granada to be permanent. He conceived the idea of building a city upon the ruins of the encampment, which he called Santa Fe, and which was laid out in the form of a cross. But this royal gesture was hardly needed, for famine was at work within the walls of Granada and the inhabitants clamored for Boabdil to surrender the city. Boabdil sent the old governor, Abul Cazim Abdel Melic, to confer with the Spanish sovereigns. Ferdinand agreed to suspend all hostilities for seventy days, at the end of which time, if no help arrived for Granada, the city was to be surrendered. He realized, far better than the Moors, that no aid could reach the capital. All Christian captives were to be liberated without ransom. Boabdil and his principal nobles were to take an oath of fealty to the Castilian crown, in return for which certain lands in the Alpuxarra mountains were

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to be turned over to the Moors. The Moors were to be given freedom to practice their religion--rather an amazing concession at that time in Spain-- and were to be governed by their own laws.

Long before the seventy days had elapsed famine forced the Moorish king to surrended. Boabdil, on the last day of the year 1491, advised Ferdinand that constant tumult in the city made it advisable for the Spanish to occupy the city at once. Early in the morning Boabdil sent his immediate family and retainers to an obscure gate of the Alhambra. They were to await him at a neighboring hamlet. Boabdil himself had begged Ferdinand to grant him the favor that no one should enter or leave by the gate which he used after his departure from the city. The King assented to this request and the gate was walled up as soon as the Spaniards took possession, in which condition it remains to-day.

A detachment of Spanish cavaliers, led by the Bishop of Avila, took possession of the Alhanbra. The royal procession awaited the raising of the Castilian flag upon the battlements as a signal for the triumphal entry into the city. As the banner fluttered to the top of the staff the Spanish sovereigns sank upon their knees, followed by all the assemblage, and gave thanks to God for the deliverance of Spain from the Moors. Preceeded by monks chanting the "Te Deum Laudamus", the cavalcade entered the city with every sign of rejoicing. Ten years of warfare had ended in the expulsion of the Moor.

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CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF "THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA"

Perhaps it would be well to permit Irving himself to tell us his hopes and fears regarding "The Conquest". In a letter to Alexander Everett, United States Minister to Spain, who had done so much to induce him to come to Spain, he wrote in 1828: "I have finished and transmitted a work for publication on the subject of the Conquest by Ferdinand and Isabella. I have collected materials for it about two years since, having been struck with the subject while writing the "Life of Columbus". My brother assisted me in my researches, but after I had roughly thrown it into form, I felt distrust on the subject and let it lie. My tour reassured me and I took it up resolutely at Seville and worked it into regular form. It is in the form of a chronicle, made up from all the old Spanish historians I could lay my hands on, colored and tinted by the imagination so as to have a romantic air, without destroying the historical basis or the chronological order of the events. I fancy it is as near the truth as any of the chronicles from which it is digested and has the advantages of containing the striking facts and achievements, true or false, of them all. Of course, it will have no pretentions as a grave historical production, or a work of authority, but I cannot help thinking it will present a lively picture of the war, and one somewhat characteristic of the times, so much of the materials having been drawn from contemporary historians."

Irving has stated his purpose in writing "The Conquest of

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Granada" so succinctly that little remains for us to do except to decide whether or not he succeeded in accomplishing his design.

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The casual reader who took this volume from the library shelf would find it of interest, absorbing or otherwise, in proportion as he was capable of projecting himself into the atmosphere of the period. Irving certainly has recreated the mediaeval atmosphere of military and religious Spain, with all its pomp and coloring, while he has been equally sensitive to the intellectual and artistic values which the Moor imprinted so indelibly upon the land. His careful research in Spanish libraries and convents gave him complete possession of the historical facts, while his discriminating mind sifted the contents of the old chronicles, reserving for its own use the most dramatic and significant of the events of this ten years war. As his letters to others clearly show, he was immensely influenced by all that he saw and read in Spain. It is inconceivable that he could ever have written a work of this character without residing in the land of which he wrote.

The danger of the chronicle type of history is its liability to monotony. Chronological arrangement of events is not always the best arrangement from a literary and dramatic viewpoint. Such a detailed work as "The Conquest of Granada" might conceivably have proved dull without the delicate touch of style of which Irving was master. His characteristic lack of self-confidence impelled him to make every effort to interest the reader and he was instinctively impatient of prolixity.

1. Life and Letters of Washington Irving, Pierre M. Irving, Vol.2, p. 322.

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"The Conquest of Granada" is not in any sense an ordinary history. Irving considered it a "kind of literary experiment" and was so dubious of its reception that he sheltered himself, ineffectually as it turned out, behind the pseudonym of Fray Antonio Agapida. Always impatient of the dry husks of facts, the author "colored and tinted" his narrative in an effort to portray the high chivalry and romantic adventure characteristic of war in a highly adventurous age. He records not only martial achievements but racial characteristics; the Moor and the Spaniard stand out as they actually were, antipodal in religious creed and political viewpoint, but stirred by the same passions and ambitions for national prestige and power. Irving maintains a fine impartiality throughout the work, yet he shows the keenest appreciation of the admirable qualities of Moor and Spaniard alike. His enthusiastic love for the country of which he wrote colored every page and he succeeded beyond the power of most historians in recreating an age and revivifying long-gone personalities. His method of approach is as human as that of Prescott or Motley and it is difficult to understand why Irving was doubtful of the reception of this work.

He wrote to his friend Mile. Bolviller: "It is impossible to travel about Andalusia and not imbibe a kind feeling for these Moors. They deserved this beautiful country. They won it bravely; they enjoyed it generously and kindly. Everywhere I meet traces of their sagacity, courage, urbanity, high poetical feeling, and elegant taste. I am at times almost ready to join in the senti-

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ment with a worthy friend and countryman of mine whom I met at Malaga, who swears the Moors are the only people that ever deserved the country, and prays to heaven that they may come over from Africa and conquer it again."

Irving sent the manuscript of "The Conquest of Granada" to his brother in America. He wished it to be published first in that country to prevent American publishers from pirating his work, should it first appear in England. Murray later published the work in England with Irving's name upon the title page, much to the latter's embarrassment, as he had intended to present it anonymously, under the pseudonym of the imaginary friar Antonio Agapida.

For some inexplicable reason the "Conquest of Granada" failed to receive the popular acclaim that had been bestowed upon "The Life and Voyages of Columbus". Though Coleridge pronounced it "a masterpiece of romantic narrative" and William Cullen Bryant considered it one of Irving's most delightful works, the reading public on both sides of the Atlantic apparently desired a further change of product from its literary idol.

DIPLOMATIC AND LITERARY HONORS

Washington Irving's stay in Spain was brought to an abrupt end by his appointment as Secretary of Legation to the Court of Saint James, to serve under United States Minister Louis McLane. He himself was quite devoid of political ambition, but, for once, he gave way to his brother Ebenezer's earnest wish that he

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enter political life. His official duties left him little time or inclination for literary effort and it is not surprising that he seized upon the transfer of Mr. McLane to the Secretaryship of the Treasury as a legitimate excuse to offer his own resignation.

His arrival in England was the signal for the award of various distinguished literary honors. In April of the year 1830 the Royal Society of Literature honored him with the award of the Royal Gold Medal "adjudged to the authors of literary works of eminent merit." In June of the same year Oxford University, much to his dismay, conferred upon him the dignity of an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. It is significant of Irving's innate modesty that he never made use of the title.

After seventeen years of residence in foreign lands Irving returned to the country of his birth in 1832. Cosmopolitan though he was, throughout his long exile he had never lost the longing to return home. His dearest wish was to live the remainder of his life in the United States and it was quite in keeping with the simple nature of the man that he should choose to abide in the little village of Tarrytown on the Hudson. He purchased a century-old manor house of Dutch architecture, which he aptly named Sunnyside. For ten years he was to be permitted to enjoy the simple life of the village in the country over which he had rambled as a youth.

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Realizing that the Spanish theme had temporarily lost popularity with his fickle public, Irving now thought to capitalize his recent travels in England. While Secretary of Legation at London he had made the acquaintance of Colonel Wildman, an English army officer who had been a boyhood intimate of Byron at Newstead Abbey and at Harrow. Colonel Wildman had purchased the Abbey, which was one of the most storied old piles in the kingdom, and invited Irving to visit him there. Founded by Henry the Second in explation of his murder of Thomas a Becket, it had once been occupied by the religious order of St. Augustine. Henry the Eighth, in his effort to abolish Catholic power in England, had presented the Abbey to Sir John Byron, whose descendents had occupied it ever since.

About the middle of the eighteenth century Newstead Abbey had come into possession of the grand-uncle of the poet. The character of this ancestor is clearly indicated by his local appelation of "the wicked Lord Byron". A kinsman, Mr. Chaworth of Annesley Hall, lived nearby. In 1765, while on a journey to London, these neighbors and kinsmen had quarreled bitterly and Lord Byron had insisted upon an immediate duel, by candle-light, without seconds. Mr. Chaworth had fallen under circumstances which led to an accusation of murder. Lord Byron was sent to the Tower, tried before the House of Peers, which returned a verdict of manslaughter, but allowed him to retire to the Abbey.

Brooding upon his disgrace, the old Lord Byron developed a reputation for ferocity which neighborhood gossip took care to

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enlarge upon. In his spite at all the world this mad old lord took delight in allowing the Abbey to fall into ruin, while he actually destroyed its trees and grounds, so that his eldest son, to whom the property must pass under the law of entail, would have as little of value as possible to enjoy.

In 1798 the death of the Old Lord, and of his son as well, resulted in the transmission of the property to the poet Byron. The personal and literary reputation of the poet throughout England added still further glamor to the ghostly reputation of the old Abbey, so that all kinds of romantic and fantastic tales centered about the ancient pile. Irving saw its possibilities as a subject for his pen and was delighted to study it under the guidance of Colonel Wildman.

In the second number of "The Crayon Miscellany" Irving gathered together a series of sketches on Newstead Abbey, based on notes made while a guest at the Abbey In his introductory sketch entitled "Arrival at the Abbey" he described the halfruined edifice as flanked at one end by a castellated tower, suggestive of the military history of the old building during the days of the Commonwealth, while the other end consisted of a ruined chapel, set in the midst of a solemn grove. The front wall of the chapel still stood and its most conspicuous feature was a great lancet window, still notable for its noble outline, though the beautiful stained glass windows had long since been destroyed.

The basement story of the Abbey consisted of a long, low

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vaulted hall, supported by massive Gothic arches. A stone stairway gave entrance to a broad corridor that ran around the interior of the Abbey. Through the windows of the corridor one glimpsed the grass-grown court of the Abbey below, with its gray stone fountain and shaded walks. The principal living quarters of the old building consisted of a spacious, high-ceilinged saloon, with deep stone casement windows and paneled walls and ceiling. It was hung with portraits of the Byron family, while a white marble bust of the poet was conspicuous on a pedistal in the corner.

Irving was delighted with the chamber assigned him, which had formerly been the state apartment. It had been carefully restored, the lower part of the walls paneled in oak, the upper part hung with Gobelin tapestries depicting a hunting scene. A hugh oak bed, with crimson plumes at the four corners of the tester, hung with curtains of crimson damask, was reached by a flight of steps. Perhaps the most remarkable adornment of the room was a chimney-piece of panel work, which was ornamented in high relief by the bust of a fierce Saracen, gazing with fixed intentness at the figure of a Christian maiden. These figures, found in various rooms of the old Abbey, were thought to symbolize the adventures of some old crusading Byron in Palestine.

Plow Monday

With his usual eagerness to inform his readers of Old English customs, Irving describes the antics of some rustics

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who came to the Abbey to celebrate the rural holiday known as Plow Monday. The author calls attention to the fact that, contrary to the opinion of many city-bred Englishmen of the time, the old dances and mummery of the countryside still remained. In the great Gothic servants' hall he found the neighborhood mummers. One of them was clad in a rough garb of frieze, his head muffled in a bear skin, with a bell dangling behind him. He impersonated the fool. Others were decorated with ribbons and armed with wooden swords. The leader of the troop recited the old ballad. of St. George and the Dragon, aided by his companions who acted out the various episodes, while the fool capered in the traditional manner.

Morris dancers, gay with ribbons and hawk's bells, next took the floor. All the heroes and heroines of the old English ballads were represented. Robin Hood, the hero of the neighboring Sherwood Forest, was there in forest green, while a smoothfaced boy played the part of Maid Marian. Beelzebub and his termagant wife Bessy quarreled riotiously for the amusement of the audience. The name Plow Monday came from the old wooden plow which the mummers dragged about from house to house each year on the anniversary of this time-sanctioned day of horseplay.

Old Servants

The servants of the Abbey were as curious and venerable as the old pile itself. Irving, as did Scott, always saw the humor and pathos of life as represented by these humble but honest and

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APPATE A

sincere old English types. There was old Nanny Smith, a dame of seventy years, who had served the Byrons as housekeeper since time immemorial. When the last Lord Byron had sold his estate she had taken refuge in her "rock house", excavated in the walls of a nearby stone quarry. Here she had lived in simple pride, supported by her son William, until Colonel Wildman had given her a comfortable cottage and set William up on a little estate of his own. Now William had come to be known locally as "The Squire" and the ancient family dignity had been restored.

Joe Murray, the old butler, had not a counterpart in all England. A sailor in his youth, he had served the old Lord Byron and would often amuse him with his salty songs of the sea, to the great scandal of Nanny Smith. He was vastly interested in the colonel's plan to convert the old refectory of the Abbey into a servants' hall, over which he hoped to have dominion. But his great ambition was not to be, for he had joined the legion of old family servants whose bones lie in the adjacent churchyard.

Superstitions of the Abbey

Whether or not the poet Lord Byron was a professed believer in ghosts has never been established. His residence in the Abbey did, at least, interest him in the stories of the supernatural and he found, too, much amusement in the credulity of the superstitious people of the neighborhood. His poetic imagination delighted to dwell upon the visionary inhabitants of the Abbey, each of whom was always associated with some tale of his-

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torical significance. Upon his arrival at the Abbey he found the Goblin Friar a firmly intrenched tradition of the place. It walked the cloisters at night, so it was said. Like the banshee of the Irish, its appearance was said to prophesy disaster or death. Byron embodied this ghostly visitor in his ballad of the Black Friar.

A young cousin of Lord Byron's once declared that she had seen a lady in white come out of the wall on one side of the room and disappear through the opposite wall. All these nocturnal occurences, however, never appear to have been enacted in the presence of witnesses, and the untrustworthiness of individuals in moments of excitement is notorious. It may be noted in passing that though Irving calls this sketch by the above title, he yet fails to produce any particularly interesting or authentic ghosts.

Annesley Hall

In this interesting sketch the author has much to say of the early attachment of the poet Byron for Mary Chaworth, a descendent of the Chaworth whom the wicked Lord Byron had killed in a duel. During a six week's vacation from Harrow, when he was fifteen, the poet Byron fell deeply in love with the seventeenyear-old Mary Chaworth, a passionate attachment which influenced his life ever afterward. Mary at first returned his love, but Byron's absence at school proved his undoing and she became affianced to another. Byron, in his poem "Dream", describes the parting between the two, in which he reveals himself as an

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infatuated youth whose love has failed to inspire the object of his devotion with equal passion. The poem is notable for its description of the wooded hillside upon which the final interview occured.

Irving, whose interest in Byron was of course great, was delighted at the opportunity to visit the home of the charming Mary. The house was a typical English manor house of the period of the Civil Wars, constructed of brick with loopholed walls and stoud oak doors. The house was a rambling, irregular pile, with additions made at various periods, numerous gable ends, stone balustrades, and enormous chimneys. Nanny Marsden, the housekeeper, showed them about. She had been an ardent partisan of the young Lord Byron and remembered that he used to refer to her little mistress as "his bright morning star of Annesley".

There was the little sitting-room which the youthful pair used to frequent; even the piano with which she used to amuse him stood in its accustomed place. But the husband of the lovely Mary Chaworth disliked Annesley Hall because of its nearness to the home of the Byrons. He could never forget the early romance of the pair and even cut down a grove of trees which they used to frequent. After the lapse of several years Byron and Mary met again at Annesley Hall at the invitation of her husband, upon whom the years appear to have exerted a mellowing effect. The poet felt his passion revive within him in all its former intensity and he realized that, in spite of his own marriage, he could never displace Mary Chaworth from his heart.

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Lord Byron's marriage was notoriously unhappy and it used to solace his grief to imagine how different his life would have been with Mary Chaworth. He makes constant use of this thought in his poetry and Irving gives several quotations in this sketch to show that Byron's early attachment did, in fact, influence him throughout life.

Robin Hood and Sherwood Forest

Newstead Abbey was located in the midst of what had been Sherwood Forest, made famous by the exploits of the outlaw Robin Hood. The intervening centuries had seen the gradual disappearance of the forest, as it made way for farm lands or some rural hamlet. But the very name had captivated Washington Irving as a child, when he had first met Robin Hood in the pages of a collection of ballads, illustrated with quaint wood-cuts, and purchased at the cost of all his holiday money.

Irving and his host, Colonel Wildman, rode over much of the territory once shaded by the great oaks of Sherwood. A few of them, indeed, remained, but only as hollow shells in which the rooks took refuge. But rock proved more permanent than the stoutest oak and Robin Hood's Stable, scooped out of brown freestone in the side of a hill, was still to be seen. Friar Tuck's cell, too, still remained, with a door and a window cut in the living rock.

A few square miles of Sherwood Forest still remained in its wild state and Irving found great satisfaction in exploring

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it. To him it seemed like the aboriginal forests of New York and Canada, through which he had journey as a young man.

The Little White Lady

The little white lady was not a phantom, as she might at first seem, but a creature of reality. She seemed like a wraith as she flitted along the walks of Newstead Abbey, gliding swiftly away when approached, and seeming to prefer solitude to companionship. She was seen most often in Byron's favorite haunts, where she would sit for hours in apparent meditation. Inquiry revealed that she was the daughter of a neighboring bookseller, since dead, and that sickness had robbed her of speech and hearing. Villagers had at first been inclined to classify her among the ghostly inhabitants of the Abbey, but soon came to realize that her infirmities were the real cause of her preference for solitude.

This unfortunate creature had one solace, which amounted to an obsession. She worshipped the memory of Byron, with whom she seemed to feel some deep spiritual kinship. As she sat in some favorite haunt of the dead poet, she often composed poetry of her own, sometimes pitifully awkward in expression, sometimes verse of some dignity and beauty.

Colonel Wildman, seeing her interest in Newstead Abbey, undertook to make her acquaintance. He encouraged her to come to her favorite nook in the garden and drew from her something of her history. She wrote that she was almost destitute. Her father

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had left her nothing and a brother had made her an allowance of thirteen pounds a year, but had lately threatened to withdraw even that pitiful sum. The Little White Lady now decided to go to London to see if she could not better her fortunes, but left a packet with Mrs. Wildman to be opened after her departure. This packet contained a long letter to Mrs. Wildman, in which she thanked her for her past kindnesses to her, and a few poems dedicated to the genius of Byron.

The good lady was distressed at the thought of such a helpless creature alone in London and sent a messenger to overtake her at the neighboring village of Nottingham, where she was to take the coach to London. As the servant rode hurriedly through the town, he was obliged to rein in his horse to avoid riding down a crowd in the highway. Looking to see the cause of the gathering, he saw the corpse of the Little White Lady beside the roadway. Unable to hear the driver's shout of warning, she had been ridden down by a drunken carter, whose wagon-wheels had passed over her body.

The sad tale of the Little White Lady interested Irving greatly. Its quiet tragedy seemed a part of the sombre history of the old Abbey. The devotion of this unfortunate woman to the memory of a man whom she had never seen seemed to him to plumb the depths of human feeling. Quick of sympathy and sensitive to the misfortunes of life, Irving told this tale as a touching memorial to a woman of unusual fineness and a poet who would have warmed to her understandingly.

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ABBOTSFORD

In his reminiscences of Sir Walter Scott's life and background at Abbotsford Irving paid tribute to a man for whom he had the warmest esteem. Scott had encouraged him as a young writer and had been largely instrumental in persuading Murray to publish "The Sketch Book". Of Scotch descent himself, Irving knew how to value the dour honesty of the Scotch and the wry humor which made light of the hardships of life. His first impressions of Abbotsford came from a visit to Scott in 1817, before the pretentious manor-house which so delighted the novelist had been constructed. At that time Irving describes Scott's home as "a snug gentleman's cottage", with an air of rural well-being.

Armed with a letter of introduction from the poet Campbell. Irving met with a cordial and unaffected welcome from the laird of Abbotsford. He was prevailed upon to remain for an extended visit and he later confessed frequently that these days were numbered among the happiest in his life. As he limped to the gate, Scott revealed himself as a tall man of large and powerful frame. He was clad in an old green shooting coat, with a dog whistle at the buttonhole, brown linen pantaloons, stout shoes, and a worn white hat. A large staghound jogged along beside him, of dignified demeanor. Scott at once delegated his son Charles to conduct Irving to Melrose Abbey, promising to act as guide himself in the afternoon.

Irving delighted in the architectural beauty of the old ruin

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and found equal delight in a study of its custodian, Johnny Bower. Charles, a lively lad of twelve, knew Johnny's idioscyncracies full well and derived vast amusement in drawing out the old man. A more ardent admirer of Scott did not exist in all Scotland. "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" was his bible and he interpreted the beauties of Melrose Abbey in terms of the novelist's description of it in that work. But he worshiped Scott the man, also, and loved to recite some anecdote of his affability and kindliness.

The afternoon's ramble with Scott proved delightful to Irving. He soon found that Scott was never absent from his dogs, whether he was wandering over the moors or sitting at east in Abbotsford. There was Maida, an old staghound and a great favorite with Scott. Hamlet, a black greyhound, was a thoughtless youngster, while Finette, a beautiful setter with soft, silken hair, was an indoor pet. Scott talked with them as with his intimates and understood every mood and caprice of his four-footed friends.

Scott was hail-fellow-well-met with everyman. On the afternoon's ramble they encountered a tall, straight old fellow with a ruddy face and a bright blue eye. He accosted him in an affable tone and asked him for a pinch of snuff. The old man drew forth a horn snuff box. "Hoot, man", said Scott, "not that old mull: where's the bonnie French one that I brought you from Paris?" "Troth, your honor", replied the old fellow, "sic a mull as that is nae for week days."

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Irving felt a deep interest in the old Scotch songs and found that Scott, too, held them in high esteem. He felt them to be melancholy, as was often the life of the simple folk who composed them, but their native charm was characteristic of the country and the people. They were a sort of national inheritance, he thought, and there was something in them of the pure mountain air and the heather. At Ayr, the birthplace of Robert Burns, Irving had fallen into conversation with a poor carpenter who had known the poet. In telling of the poet's life at Ayr, he had expressed the opinion, which to Irving had seemed deeply significant, that "It seemed to him as if the country had grown more beautiful since E,rns had written his bonnie little songs about it."

Irving felt some disappointment at the low rolling Scotch hills and the comparative insignificance of its rivers. The bareness of the hills seemed monotonous, destitute as they were of trees, while the river Tweed appeared a mere meandering stream. Scott was distressed at this, but understood how different was the topography of America, with its endless forests and mighty streams. To him the heather-clad hills meant all the world and he thought he would die if he were deprived of them.

The wildness of the old Highlanders came up for discussion. Scott remarked that there were still traces of rivalry between the Highlander and the Lowlander, and told the story of a friend who went to dwell in the neighborhood of the Highlands. His new neighbors refused to treat him with friendliness and sought constant cause of quarrel with him. One day, as they sat about

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table, a Highlander drew a dirk and asked the Lowlander if he had ever seen such a weapon. Exasperated at this taunt, his friend had seized the dagger and with a mighty thrust had driven it with one blow far into the oaken table. "Tell your friends", he exclaimed, "that a man from the Lowlands drove a dirk where the devil himself cannot draw it out." His act and his words aroused the admiration of the hostile neighbors and all unfriendliness disappeared.

Scott was extremely reticent about discussing his own works, in fact, he never mentioned them. He was quick to praise the work of his contemporaries, but he took unusual pains to keep his own books from the eyes of his children, particularly objecting to their reading his romantic poems. He also spoke of his rambling propensities as a youth and of his father's fear that he would prove a ne'er-do-well. Those walks over the countryside had taught him much of local history and folk-lore, he explained. When collecting material for his "Border Minstrelsy" he used to go from cottage to cottage and make the old wives repeat all they knew, even if it were only two lines. In this way he recaptured many a fugitive ballad that would have otherwise have passed into oblivion.

CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF "NEWSTEAD ABBEY" AND "ABBOTSFORD"

The above sketches, which appeared in Part Two of Irving's "Crayon Miscellany", are scarcely to be classed among the best

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work of Irving. Written after the lapse of many years, as he is careful to explain, they were published in response to a demand for some new work from the pen of Irving, rather than from any profound conviction of their worth on the part of the author.

"Newstead Abbey", in particular, falls somewhat short of the standard the author had set in his previous English sketches. There is comparatively little substance in some of the sketches, notably that on "Superstitions of the Abbey", which upon perusal gives us little information on the subject after all. "Robin Hood and Sherwood Forest", also, somehow fail to meet our expectations, but that is doubtless due to the difficulty of writing about that which has largely disappeared.

On the contrary, there are many delightful descriptions of the interior of the Abbey, with a wealth of detail which gives us a fascinating picture of many of the ancient rooms and their furnishings. We do not learn any new particulars of the poet Byron's life, except it be his early courtship of Mary Chaworth, but we do learn much about his delight in the traditions of the Old Abbey and the influence they had upon his literary work.

"Abbotsford" gives us a charming picture of Scott and his family. Irving's affection for the novelist is manifest in every line and he unquestionably succeeds in revealing the qualities of mind and heart which endeared Scott to all who knew him. His love of dry humor, his astounding knowledge of the history and folk-lore of his native Scotland, his innate generosity and kindness, are revealed in a multiplicity of anecdote. As a brief

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revelation of the character and background of an extraordinary man, "Abbotsford" is of value to any lover of Scott and his works.

It is evident, of course, that the inspiration for these sketches from "Crayon Miscellany" came from Irving's residence in England after his return from Spain. The death of Scott undoubtedly influenced Irving in his decision to publish this tribute to his early patron, while his acquaintance with Newstead Abbey was a more recent one. The "Miscellany" was first published in the United States and met with great favor, as Irving's popularity was then at its peak.

APPOINTMENT OF IRVING AS UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SPAIN

In 1841 Washington Irving received what he considered "the crowning honor of my life", the appointment as United States Minister to the Court of Spain. National recognition of Irving's hold upon the popular imagination of European peoples dictated his appointment, as well as the pride of the American people in the achievements of their chief literary genius. Devoid of political ambition, he accepted the position with regret, out of a sense of the honor conferred and of loyalty to his own country. The death of his brother Peter, who had aided him in his literary compilation in Spain and with whom he had for years been closely associated, saddened him at this time.

His four years at Madrid were years of literary sterility. Bodily infirmity and the press of official business gave him little opportunity for literary endeavor. He was still imbued with

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the charm of Spanish life and history, but was more than disillusioned with regard to the Spanish political character. His only literary work while Minister to Spain was the revision of a life of Mahomet, which he had begun years before upon his first visit to Spain. Irving gladly relinquished his diplomatic post in Spain and returned in 1846 to Sunnyside, which he never left for any extended period during the remaining thirteen years of his life.

MAHOMET AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Part One

It was natural for Washington Irving to turn for inspiration as an author to the vast storehouse of foreign recollection and impression derived from long years of residence abroad. His interest in Spanish and Moorish themes had been proven by his previous successful works of that nature. Freed from pressing financial care and happy in the quiet seclusion of Sunnyside, he turned with revived interest to the work which he had so many times set aside, glad, as he said, to write on such a subject at half price in the enjoyment of the task itself. He acknowledges his indebtedness to Spanish sources, particularly Gagnier's translation of the Arabian historian Abulfeda, a copy of which he had found in the Jesuits' Library of the Convent of St. Isidro at Madrid.

In a letter to his nephew Pierre, dated Sunnyside, April 15, 1847, Irving wrote that he was once more in the vein, under

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the spell of his favorite subject. "These old Morisco subjects have a charm that makes me content to write about them at half price. They have so much that is highminded and chivalrous and quaint and picturesque and adventurous, and at times half comic about them."

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The first part of "Mahomet and His Successors" is devoted to a biography of Mahomet, the religious and secular leader of the Arabs, who of all his race did most to inspire them with the fervor of a new religious belief and a national consciousness that made them triumphant over the Orient and Spain itself. The personality and rise to power of Mahomet were so closely linked with the rise of a great nation that the biography of the great religious leader becomes quite naturally in addition a history of the early growth and development of the Arabs themselves.

Mahomet, the great founder of the faith of Islam, was born in Mecca, in April, in the year 569 of the Christian era. He was a member of the militant and aristocratical tribe of Koreish. His father, in recognition of his success in preventing the capture of Mecca by a hostile army sent by the Christian princes of Abyssinia, was given charge of the Caaba, the Holy of Holies of Arabia, which carried with it great religious distinction and certain political rights. Tradition records that the birth of Mahomet was attended by unusual portents. At his birth a celestial light illumined the surrounding country, while the new-born child is said to have exclaimed at birth: "God is great!

1. Pierre M. Irving, Life and Letters of Washington Irving, Vol.4, P.17

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There is no God but God, and I am his prophet." The sacred fire of Zoroaster, which had burned for over a thousand years, was found extinguished on the day of his birth.

The father of Mahomet died within two months of his birth, leaving his mother in poverty. His mother being unable to nurse him, Halema, the wife of a Saadite shepherd, was prevailed upon to undertake his care. Upon the journey to her home the mule which bore him became miraculously gifted with speech and proclaimed that he bore upon his back God's greatest prophet.

Irving calls attention to two traditional miracles which occured to Mahomet at the age of three. One day, while playing in the fields, Mahomet was visited by the angel Gabriel, who laid him upon the ground, opened his breast, removed his heart and cleansed it of all the blackness of original sin--all this without subjecting the child to the slightest suffering. Gabriel also implanted between the shoulders of the child the seal of prophecy, though unbelievers saw only a large mole. This heavenly visitation seemed the work of evil spirits to his mother, who demanded possession of the young child.

Upon the almost immediate death of the mother, a faithful Abyssinian slave carried Mahomet to his grandfather, Abd al Motalleb, who, upon his death soon afterward, bequeathed Mahomet to the special care of his eldest son, Abu Taleb, who was the guardian of the Caaba and of great weight in the community.

In order to understand the sacredness of the Caaba in the Arab mind, it is necessary to know its origin. Arabian tradition

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has it that Adam and Eve, after they had been cast forth from Paradise, wandered separately on the earth for two hundred years until, in consideration of their wretchedness, they were permitted by God to come together again on Mount Ararat; situated near the city of Mecca. Adam, deeply repentent, pleaded that he be given a shrine, similar to the one he had possessed in Paradise. God caused a tabernacle of clouds to be lowered, about which Adam made seven circuits, as did the angels of Heaven. At the death of Adam his son Seth built a tabernacle of stone and clay, to replace the miraculous tabernacle which had disappeared with his father's death. The great flood swept this away.

Generations later, Hagar and her child Ishmael were dying of thirst in the desert, when an angel revealed to them the site of an ancient well near the ancient tabernacle. Shortly afterward two members of the tribe of the Amalekites discovered the well, brought their companions to the place, and founded the city of Mecca, taking Hagar and Ishmael under their protection. Ishmael grew to man's estate, married the daughter of the ruling prince, and thus became the founder of the Arabian people. Ishmael and his father Abraham now undertook to rebuild the Caaba. While engaged in this work of devotion, an angel brought them a sacred stone, said by some to be the guardian angel who was thus punished for his failure to watch more carefully over Adam in Paradise. This stone Ishmael inserted in the corner of the new temple, which the devout worshipper kissed each time he made a circuit of the temple. Originally of dazzling whiteness, it became gradually black-

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ened by the kisses of sinful mortals. Thus Mecca, which enclosed these sacred objects, became a holy city many centuries before the rise of Mahometanism. Pilgrims from all parts of Arabia came to worship there and so profound was the reverence felt for the Caaba that four months of the year were set aside for the pilgrimage to Mecca, during which all warfare was suspended between the tribes.

At the age of twelve Mahomet begged his uncle Abu Taleb, who was an enterprising merchant as well as the guardian of the Caaba, to take him with him in his caravan to Syria. Realizing that Mahomet was now old enough to be of service on the journey, the old man consented. The journey was to have a profound effect upon the later life of the prophet. Arrived at the city of Bosra, on the borders of Syria, the caravan halted near the convent of some Nestorian monks, a Christian sect, where Mahomet and Abu Taleb were hospitably entertained. Serguis, one of the monks, was greatly impressed with the intelligence of the young Arab and conversed gravely with him upon the sin of idolatry, in which Mahomet had been reared. Mahomet returned to Mecca with his imagination deeply impressed with the Nestorian doctrines and many good Mahometans see in the Koran passages which they believe he later wrote under the inspiration of the Nestorian doctrines.

Mahomet now made many caravan journeys and as he advanced in years and experience he was placed in command of many of them. His travels to Syria, Yemen, and elsewhere, enlarged his knowledge of human nature and affairs and taught him the management

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of men. His attendance at fairs all over Arabia also acquainted him with the spiritual viewpoints and needs of his countrymen, for these gatherings were not only mercantile, but were also given over to the preaching of various religious beliefs and the recitation of original poems. Such was the esteem for poetry in Arabia that seven prize poems from the fair of Ocadh alone were placed in the Caaba as trophies.

In the course of this purely secular life, Mahomet attracted the attention of a wealthy widow of Mecca, named Cadijah, who sought him to take charge of one of her caravans. Mahomet made the expedition such a financial success that Cadijah was delighted. As she realized the unusual mental and physical qualities of her young employee, Cadijah found herself greatly attracted to him and she eventually married him. Mahomet now found himself among the wealthiest men of Mecca, but he appears to have taken no particular pride therefrom. For some years he continued his commercial ventures, though not with as much success as formerly.

With greater leisure for reflection, Mahomet turned his thoughts more and more toward religious reform. His discussions with his wife's cousin, Waraka, who had translated parts of the Old and New Testament into Arabic, taught him many of the traditions of the Mishnu and the Talmud, upon which he has drawn frequently in his Koran. Mahomet was particularly troubled with the growth of idolotry at Mecca. The Caaba now contained three hundred and sixty different idols, the deities of other nations

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whom the Arabs had learned to worship as the result of numerous caravan journeys. The most important of these idols was Hobal, a Syrian god supposed to possess the power of producing rain.

Mahomet had come to believe that the only true religion had been revealed to Adam at his creation and that it required the worship of one true God, and one only. Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus Christ, were to him successive, divinely-inspired prophets sent by God to restore the world, at different periods of abasement, to its original purity. As Mahomet's mind turned more and more to purely religious thought, he sought to avoid society and took refuge in a cave on Mount Hara, about three leagues north of Mecca, where he would remain for long periods, engaged in prayer and meditation. He became subject to strange trances and dreams, which unbelievers have been unkind enough since to characterize as epyleptic fits, but to which Mahomet ascribed the greatest religious significance.

Mahomet was forty years of age when he announced his first great revelation. He was passing the sacred month of Ramadhan in the cavern at Mount Hara. It was the night known by the Arabs as Al Kader, or the night when, says the Koran, Gabriel descends to earth with the decrees of God. Mahomet lay wrapped in his mantle, when he heard a voice calling him, and a light enfolded him of such brilliance that he swooned. Upon regaining his senses he beheld an angel, who held before him a silken cloth and demanded that he read the characters thereon. Mahomet pleaded his ignorance of the art of reading, but the angel assured him that God would give

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him the necessary gift. With miraculous ease he read the characters on the silken.cloth, which he afterward declared were the decrees of God and which he embodied in his Koran. As he finished reading the angel announced: "Mahomet, of a verity thou art the prophet of God and I am his angel Gabriel."

Mahomet came to Cadijah in the morning, uncertain of the authenticity of his experience, but his wife believed at once in his divine mission and hastened to tell her cousin Waraka, whose discussions with Mahomet had so greatly influenced the prophet. Waraka seized eagerly upon this miraculous event, declaring that the angel appearing before Mahomet was the same that had appeared before Moses. The reassurance of Cadijah and Waraka convinced Mahomet of his divine mission and we never hear again of his doubting it.

Irving outlines the fundamentals of the Mahometan faith in an interesting and impartial manner. He is quick to acknowledge its spiritual beauties and points out its kinship in many respects with the Christian religion. He likewise feels that the earlier phase of the prophet's spiritual growth was the more sincere and that, during the later part of his life, Mahomet was not altogether above announcing divine visitations to serve his own temporal ends.

The author emphasizes the thought that Mahomet did not pretend to set up a new religion, but to restore that already derived from God to its former purity. In the Koran the prophet expressly states that the true Mahometan believes in the God

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of the Jews and in the divine mission of Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, Moses and Jesus. Mahomet described himself as the last of the prophets and claimed equal authority with them all. He declared that, just as the law of Moses had been superceded by the Gospel at the coming of Jesus, so the Koran now displaced the Gospel.

Mahometanism insisted upon the unity of God. Its cornerstone was the saying of the Koran: "There is no God but God". To this was added: "Mahomet is the prophet of God". Mahometanism also preached the existence of angels, the resurrection of the body, a belief in the last judgment with reward or punishment to follow, and predestination. Irving feels that much of the Koran can be traced to the Christian Bible and the writings of the Jews. The doctrine of the Trinity was pronounced erroneous, a belief shared by some sects of Christian Arabs, and the divinity of Jesus was denied, though he was reverenced as the greatest prophet preceeding Mahomet.

In his hatred of idolotry Mahomet forbade his followers to possess any representation of any living thing, telling them that angels would not enter a house where such representations were to be found and that those who made them would be forced to find souls for them in the next world. Charity was continually enjoined upon the true believer and "Do unto another as thou wouldst he should do unto thee" was another precept.

Mahomet was insistent upon frequent prayers to the Deity. They must be preceeded by ablution and must be made at certain

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hours of the day or night. The body must be prostrated at times and the face turned toward the Caaba. The poetic beauty and elevation of thought of the second chapter of the Koran is beyond dispute. The doctrines of the resurrection and final judgment resemble somewhat those of the Christian religion, but the Mahometan conception of Paradise is degraded by sensual appeal. In great contrast to this is the sublime description of the last day, as contained in the eighty-first chapter of the Koran.

It will be seen that Mahomet faced almost overwhelming difficulties in his first efforts to preach at Mecca. Those who had seen him grow up among them could not seriously accept his claims of divine inspiration. As a member of the family to whose guardianship the sacred Caaba had been entrusted, he was regarded as a traitor to the ancient religion of Arabia. The doubters demanded miracles and in reply Mahomet demanded how they could ask for any greater miracle than the Koran itself. He confined himself to reason and eloquence and as his efforts began to win converts the Koreshites, the tribe most influential in the religious and political affairs of Mecca, took alarm and threatened his death. His enemies assaulted him in the Caaba and he was rescued with great difficulty by his uncle, Abu Beker, who had become a convert.

The early annals of Mahometanism abound in stories of violence directed against the prophet and his followers. At last a ban of non-intercourse was promulgated by the Koreshites, which forbade any member of the tribe to come in contact with any Mahometan. Mahomet himself and his followers took refuge in the

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castle of Abu Taleb where they remained for three years. At last the dissensions among the Arabs over Mahomet and his religion became so serious as to cause concern for the security of Mecca. Shortly afterward, the parchment proclaiming the ban of non-intercourse mysteriously became defaced and Abu Sofian, a leader of one branch of the Koreshites which had showed great enmity toward the prophet, allowed him to return to the sacred city. It was at this period that Mahomet was greatly saddened by the deaths of his wife, Cadijah, and his uncle Abu Taleb, whose loyalty had done much to strengthen him in his efforts to win the Arabs to Mahometanism.

The prophet had been true to his wife Cadijah, in contrast to the Arabian custom of plurality of wives, but at her death he married within a month Ayesha, the daughter of his faithful adherent Abu Becker. Though he permitted his followers four wives only, he always maintained that a prophet was under no such limitation and the number of his wives varied with his affection, their number being uncertain, though he possessed nine at the time of his death. His chief excuse was his expressed desire to beget a race of prophets for his people. Ayesha was always his favorite wife, however, and she exercised much influence upon subsequent Arabian history.

The death of the powerful Abu Taleb was sufficient to increase the open hostility of Abu Sofian, who aroused such hatred toward the prophet that he found it expedient to leave Mecca again. He sought refuge, accompanied by his freedman Zeid, at

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Tayef, but the idol@trous inhabitants of that lovely city scorned his doctrines and threatened his person, so that he found himself driven into the desert for safety. He presently secretly sought refuge in the house of one of his disciples at Mecca.

While in seclusion at Mecca, Mahomet was visited by another vision, in which he miraculously journeyed at night from Mecca to Jerusalem and thence ascended into the Seventh Heaven. This vision is one of the great miracles of Mahometanism and the journey of the prophet, under the guidance of the angel Gabriel, is given in the Koran in great particularity. Its effect was greatly to increase the sanctity of Mahomet among his followers, who were inspired at this new manifestation of his divine power.

As soon as the priviliged time of pilgrimage arrived, the prophet ventured to show himself openly at Mecca again. A band of pilgrims from Medina of the powerful tribe of Khazradites, listened to his preaching. The Khazradites, who had often heard their Jewish neighbors talk of the coming of another Messiah, became converts to the new religion and offered him refuge at Medina, when they should have become once more on peaceful terms with the Awsites, another tribe who disputed the control of Medina. Some time later a secret conference between representatives of the Khazradites and Mahomet took place at night upon a hillside near Mecca. A compact was made, in which Mahomet demanded that the Khazradites should give up idolatry and should accept him as their absolute leader. Spies of the Koreishites acquainted Abu Sofian of this new alliance and this arch enemy of the

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prophet determined to end this dangerous confederation by the destruction of Mahomet.

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Attempted Assasination of Mahomet

Allusion is made in the eighth chapter of the Koran to what followed. Mahomet was apprised of the coming attempt by the angel Gabriel, according to tradition, in time to prepare himself. His murderers appeared at his door. Looking through a crevice, they thought they saw Mahomet wrapped in his green mantle asleep upon a couch. They rushed through the door, but the figure that started up was that of Ali, his faithful cousin. He denied all knowledge of the whereabouts of the prophet and walked away unmolested.

Mahomet, meanwhile, had sought the house of Abu Becker, the father of his wife Ayesha, and both left Mecca under cover of darkness. At dawn they found themselves in a cave on Mount Thor, when they heard the sound of pursuit. Abu Becker trembled at the thought of their fate, but Mahomet assured him that God would protect them. A miracle did occur, if Arabian tradition is to be credited. By the time that the Koreshites had reached the entrance of the cavern, an acacia tree had sprung up before it, in whose spreading branches a pigeon had made its nest and a spider had woven its silken covering. The Koreshites came to the entrance, beheld these signs of undisturbed quiet, concluded that no one had entered the cavern recently, and pressed their quest in another direction. The prophet and his followers enque a secondara de esta a la secondara de la company de la company de la company de la company de la company

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pursued their way safely to Medina. This famous journey is known as the Second Hejira.

Arrived at Medina, Mahomet, now a poor refugee from Mecca, began to build a humble mosque, with the sole thought of preaching his doctrines. He preached often from the pulpit and at this period of his career his precepts were all of devotion and humanity to man. His wife Ayesha, in speaking of the simplicity of their domestic life at this time, remarked: "For a whole month together we did not light a fire to dress victuals; our food was nothing but dates and water, unless anyone sent us meat. The people of the prophet's household never got wheat bread two successive days."

Irving marks this period spent at Medina as the turning point in the policy of the prophet. Mahomet issued a manifesto in which he stated that different prophets had been sent by God to illustrate his different attributes: Moses his clemency; Solomon his wisdom; Jesus Christ his righteousness, omniscience and power. "I, therefore, the last of the prophets, am sent with the sword! Let those who promulgate my faith enter into no argument nor discussion, but slay all who refuse obedience to the law. Whoever fights for the true faith, whether he fall or conquer, will assuredly receive a glorious reward."

In order to strengthen the fervency of his followers in the work of militant propagation of the faith, Mahomet also emphasized the doctrine of predestination. According to the Koran, the life and death of everyone is predestined from eternity.

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No man could die sooner or later than his allotted hour and it made no difference whether he died in his bed or upon the field of battle.

The Battle of Beder

Mahomet now determined to wreak vengeance upon his most persistent foe, Abu Sofian, governor of the city of Mecca. Upon receiving news of the approach of a caravan of a thousand camels, under the leadership of Abu Sofian, laden with merchandise from Syria, the prophet led a troop of thirty horsemen to lie in wait for them. But Abu Sofian had received news from a spy of Mahomet's intention and sent a messenger to Mecca for reenforcements. Meanwhile Abu Sofian, approaching the region where Mahomet was encamped, made sure of his position by the size of the date-kernals which Mahomet's men had thrown away--those of Medina being noted for their smallness. He then marched in another direction, thus avoiding the encounter. But the reenforcements from Mecca, under Abul Jahl, informed of the safety of the caravan, determined to teach Mahomet a lesson.

The Moslems posted themselves upon rising ground, with a little stream at the foot of it. When the vanguard of the enemy hastened to slack their thirst at the stream, Hamza, the uncle of Mahomet, set upon them and slew the leader with his own hand. Only one man escaped to summon the main body of the enemy. When the two little armies had drawn up opposite one another, challenges to individual combat, after the Arab fashion, were exthe Anno and all monoritan and the Manual Manual Anno 1999. The second s

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changed and accepted. Hamza, Ali and Obeidah Ibn al Hareth took up the quarrel of the Moslems and each slew his man. The battle then became general, Mahomet remaining in a hut upon the hill engaged in prayer for the victory. The Koreshites presently gave way, leaving seventy dead upon the field, including the body of Abu Jahl, their leader, and Moslem arms had won the first of their many victories.

The history of Mahometanism now became a history of armed warfare and political intrigue. The hostility of the Koreshites in Mecca increased in proportion to the increase of Mahomet's power in Medina. Another expedition under Abu Sofian soon appeared near Medina and Mahomet yielded to the importunities of his young men for a fair fight in the open field. The prophet posted himself again upon a hill, with archers stationed on flank and rear to protect him from attack. The troops of Abu Sofian now attacked the Moslem flank, but were thrown back in disorder by the discharges of the archers. Upon this, Hanza charged the enemy center with the main body of his cavalry and soon had them retreating in disorder. But the Moslem archers, thinking the victory won, and forgetting their orders to stay upon the hill, abandoned their post in quest of booty. Upon this, the cavalry of the enemy gained possession of the hill, attacked the Moslem flank and soon threw it into confusion. At this moment a Koreshite, Obbij Ibn Chalef, pressed through the throng crying out for the death of Mahomet. The prophet seized a lance and pierced his throat, thus fulfilling a threat he had made years before.

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In the resulting melee Hamza was slain by a lance and Mosaab Ibn Omair, the standard bearer of the Moslems, was cut down, but Ali seized the sacred banner and his men rallied around him. Mahomet was struck by a stone on the mouth and was also wounded by an arrow in the face. The fall of Mosaab, who greatly resembled the prophet, gave rise to a cry that Mahomet was slain and the enemy redoubled their attack. The Moslems were forced to retreat to a hilltop. Raab, a follower of the prophet, saw him lying wounded in a ditch, recognized him by his armor, and dragged him to safety upon the hilltop. The Koreshites, believing Mahomet slain, now withdrew from pursuit and night fell to separate the combatants. On the morrow, Abu Sofian had learned that the prophet was still alive, but forbore to attack Medina, as he feared that his depleted army would be unable to conquer it. He therefore returned to Mecca.

Six years had elapsed since the flight of Mahomet from Mecca. His long exile and his open warfare with the Koreshites, who had charge of the sacred Caaba, prejudiced his cause in the eyes of many. Mahomet, always sensitive to the trend of public opinion, resolved to make a pilgrimage to Mecca during the sacred month, when open warfare was forbidden. Avoiding the forces of Mecca, which city had heard of his intention and feared its sincerity, he appeared near the city and entered into negotiations for the admission of his people to the Caaba. After days of negotiation the Koreshites and the Moslems agreed upon a ten year's truce, which permitted Mahomet and his followers

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to remain for three days each year in Mecca in the exercise of their religious rites. The people of Mecca had come to realize the immense reverence paid Mahomet by his followers and to appreciate his growing power. Further opposition seemed useless.

Expedition against the City of Khaibar

The love of plunder had begun to play a part of some importance in attracting followers to the standard of Mahomet. Propagation of the faith by the sword not only spread Islamism but also resulted in spoils by which to continue further conquest. The Jewish city of Khaibar, about five day's journey from Medina, had grown wealthy by agriculture and commerce. It had also become a refuge for the hostile Jews whom Mahomet had driven out of Medina. In the seventh year of the Hegira Mahomet accordingly set out on an expedition against Khaibar at the head of twelve hundred foot and two hundred horse. Abu Becker, Ali, and Omar were his trusted officers.

The siege of Khaibar was to prove the most important military undertaking yet attempted by the Moslems. The city was strongly defended by outworks, while its citadel, situated upon a steep rock, was considered impregnable. After many days of effort, the Moslems succeeded in making a breach in the walls, but two successive attacks were beaten back. At length Mahomet assigned Ali to the task of penetrating the city. This cousin of Mahomet was a man of extraordinary vigor and courage, famous for his skill in single combat and a splendid leader of men. Under the impet-

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uous attack of Ali, who slew Al Hareth, the Jewish commander and his brother, the Moslems entered the city and a general assault of the citadel now occured. Moslem valor rose to new heights at thought of the treasure said to be in the citadel and soon the Mahometan banner was planted upon the ramparts.

During the heat of the combat, the shield of Ali was severed from his arm by a blow. Arabian tradition has it that Ali wrenched a heavy gate from its hinges and used it as a buckler during the remainder of the fight. The servant of Mahomet afterwards testified: "I examined this gate in company with seven men and all eight of us attempted in vain to wield it."

Upon the capture of the citadel immediate search was made for the treasure, but none was found. The Jewish prince, Kenana, assured Mahomet that all his wealth had been expended upon the defense of the city, but his followers revealed the hiding place of a large amount of treasure. Upon being put to the torture Kenana failed to produce any further spoil, so he was executed by the brother of a Moslem whom he had slain.

Mahomet very nearly became the victim of Jewish vengeance at Khaibar. Demanding food, a shoulder of lamb was set before him. He spat out the first mouthful because of the unusual taste, but instantly felt acute internal pain. A companion, who had eaten more freely, fell to the ground in convulsions and soon expired. It developed upon investigation that a niece of Marhab, the gigantic warrior slain by Ali, had poisoned the meat, but history does not record her fate. She partially succeeded in her effort,

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however, for Mahomet ever afterward suffered from the effect of the poison.

Capture of Mecca by Mahomet

Mahomet now controlled large numbers of the Arabian tribes, who followed him with fanatical devotion as a religious leader and who had gained confidence in their military strength by virtue of numerous victories. He now felt strong enough to attempt the capture of Mecca, still in the hands of his implacable foes, the Koreishites. Casual feuds and skirmishes between Moslems and Koreshites soon gave an excuse for ignoring the ten-year treaty of peace between the tribes. The people of Mecca had sent Abu Sofian to Medina with offers of a new compromise, but he met with indignity everywhere in Medina, while Mahomet himself refused to see him.

All roads to Mecca were barred to prevent any intelligence of Moslem movements from being carried thither, but the treachery of one Hateb nearly resulted in disclosure of Mahomet's plans. He wrote a letter informing the people of Mecca of the impending attack and gave it to a slave woman named Sara, who undertook to carry it to Mecca. Mahomet was informed of Hateb's treachery soon after the departure of Sara and sent Ali in pursuit. He overtook the woman, who denied any ulterior motive in her departure from Medina. Search failed to reveal any incriminating document, but Ali, convinced that she was concealing a message, threatened to strike off her head with his own scimitar if she did not at once the bolices

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reveal it. Upon this, she drew forth the letter from the concealment of her hair.

Mahomet departed with ten thousand men upon this notable enterprise. Upon the way he was joined by his uncle Al Abbas. The expedition arrived without discovery in the vicinity of Mecca and encamped for the night. Al Abbas, disquieted at the thought of the destruction of the Koreshites, mounted Mahomet's white mule in the dead of night and attempted to make his way into the city in an effort to persuade the people of Mecca to capitulate. As he skirted the prophet's camp he was stopped by the sound of voices. Soon a Moslem scouting party returned, bearing as prisoners Abu Sofian and one of his captains. Omar, one of Mahomet's chief captains, was for killing Abu Sofian instantly, but Al Abbas persuaded him to take him before Mahomet. The unexpected mildness of the prophet, coupled with his own precarious position, finally persuaded the stubborn Abu Sofian to confess his faith in Mahomet as the prophet of God. He was granted in return favorable terms for the capitulation of Mecca.

The prophet entered the city with great ceremony, donned the black turban and pilgrim garb, and repaired directly to the Caaba. With his own hands he demolished the idols he found therein, including Balka, the Syrian god who was believed to control the supply of rain. Paintings depicting angels in the guise of beautiful women he likewise destroyed, indignantly denying that angels possessed any such form.

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Expeditions Outside of Arabia

Finally established in the sacfed city of Mecca, Mahomet now turned his attention to the extension of the Moslem religion over adjoining countries of the Orient. He had already sent an envoy to Syria to invite the neighboring princes to embrace the Moslem religion, but his messenger had been slain by an hostile inhabitant of Muta, a town three days journey from Jerusalem. The prophet had thereupon sent an expedition of three thousand men against Muta, which had been met by the enemy some distance from the city. Foiled in his attempt to surprise Muta, the Arabian commander had been compelled to give battle to the hostile Greeks and Arabs. Though victory resulted for the Moslem arms, it was bought at such a cost that the capture of Muta had to be postponed until a later day.

Mahomet had now, either by conversion or conquest, become master of nearly all Arabia. The Roman Emperor Heraclius, stirred by the prophet's expedition against Muta, now mustered an army on the borders of Arabia to attack this new menace to the integrity of the Roman Empire. Mohamed determined to attack first in an effort to carry his standard into the heart of Syria. At first he had difficulty in raising the necessary army, the battle of Musa having resulted in the loss of many men of Mecca. He succeeded in assembling ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot for the campaign, which many opposed because it was undertaken in the hottest season of the year.

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Prediction of suffering was verified upon the march. The expedition had just reached, after seven days of toil, the mountainous district of Hajar and was bathing in the waters of a little brook when Mohamed recollected the traditions of his boyhood concerning the evil character of the place, which was said to be protected by evil genii against invasion. He thereupon ordered his men to throw away the evening meal which they were preparing, to strike their tents, and to continue the march. It is a striking proof of the power of Mahomet that he was obeyed without question.

Arrived near the city of Eyla, a Christian city near the Red Sea, Mahomet sent envoys to various local princes demanding conversion to the Mahometan faith, or payment of tribute. The prince of Eyla made a covenant of peace with Mahomet, agreeing to pay an annual tribute of three thousand crowns of gold. Among several Arab princes who refused to pay homage to Mahomet was Okaider Ibn Malec, who resided in a castle at the top of a mountain. The prophet's commander, Khaled, sent to bring him to terms, realized that the castle was too strong to be taken by assault and resorted, with typical Arabian cunning, to a stratagem. As Okaider one moonlight night was enjoying the air upon the terrace of the castle, he saw the form of a wild ass grazing in the plain below. Being an ardent huntsman, he seized his lance, mounted his horse and dashed forth in pursuit, accompanied by his brother and several companions. The wild ass was a decoy placed there by Khaled, who rushed forth from ambush and captured

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the prince, killing his brother. The prince obtained his freedom by paying a heavy ransom and agreeing to become a tributary of Mahomet.

Mahomet now thought to push onward into Syria, but Omar opposed any further advance. An overwhelming force was reported to be assembled upon the Syrian frontier. Omar contended, moreover, that the prophet had already prevented the Roman emperor from attacking Arabia. His counsel to return to Mecca to prepare for invasion of Syria at a later day was accepted by Mahomet, who allowed himself to be influenced by what he considered better military judgment than his own.

Death of Mahomet

The death of his only son, Ibrahim, by his favorite concubine Mariyah, was a severe blow to Mahomet. His constitution was already impaired by the extraordinary paroxyms of his mind, while the poison he had taken at Khaibar had brought on a premature old age. He determined to make a last pilgrimage to Mecca, whither he was accompanied by his nine wives. A large number of camels, intended for sacrifice and decorated with garlands of flowers and ribands, were followed by thousands of devout Moslems who wished to make the last pilgrimage with their leader. Arrived at Mecca he observed scrupulously all the rites associated with the Mahometan religion. He slew sixtythree camels with his own hand and the locks of his hair, which he shaved from his head in conformity with custom, were the prime, shifted the "others the relate months and the second s

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treasured ever afterward by all true believers. After he had prayed for the dead he announced: "The choice is given me either to remain in this world to the end of time, in the enjoyment of all its delights, or to return sooner to the presence of God: I have chosen the latter."

Upon his return Mahomet was seized by a burning fever, which he sought to relieve by causing water to be poured over him. He constantly exclaimed that he felt the poison of Khabar rending his entrails. His last words, as he lay dying in the presence of his favorite wife Ayesha, were: "Oh, Allah! Be it so--among the glorious associates in Paradise!" In conformity with his own opinion that a prophet should be buried in the place where he died, the body of Mahomet was placed in a grave directly beneath the very bed upon which he had expired.

Irving's Estimate of Mahomet

The intellectual qualities of Mahomet were without doubt remarkable. He was quick to understand, possessed a retentive memory, a vivid imagination, and great creative genius. He was just in his private dealings, treated rich and poor, the powerful and the weak, with equal courtesy.

Was he an unprincipled imposter? Were all his visions falsehoods, his miracles the fabrications of Arabian zealots? Many of the visions and revelations traditionally ascribed to him are spurious. As for miracles, he disclaimed them all, except what he termed the miracle of the Koran itself, which he

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declared was divinely inspired. Like the Bible, the Koran, as it now exists, is not the original Koran, but has undergone many alterations. The original writings were often lost, or garbled copies of them accepted as genuine. So much confusion developed after the death of Mahomet that the third caliph to succeed him, Othman, called in the various manuscripts, formed what he termed the genuine Koran, and caused all others to be destroyed.

Irving feels that many parts of the Koran, come to us as they have through many hands, possess much spiritual and poetic power. The early life of Mahomet showed a strong Christian influence, as did many of the precepts of the Koran written at this period. But the author likewise feels that after the flight to Medina Mahomet was a changed man. With growing religious and temperal power intruded the lust for temporal things. Elevation of spirit gave way to desire for revenge. The very revelations which Mahomet made from time to time came to partake of a strangely opportunistic character, so that even his followers at times murmured.

But Mahomet, in his personal habits, maintained simplicity to the last. He preached this simplicity as one of the strongest reasons for Arab success, contrasting it with the ennervation of the Syrians and the Persians. Nor did military glory awaken pride in the prophet, though he used it for the greater propagation of the faith. The riches he gained through his military expeditions were never expended upon himself, but were

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used for the aid of poverty and the legitimate purposes of Mahometanism.

Irving finds it impossible to reconcile the piety of Mahomet with any system of consistent imposture and concludes his biography of the prophet in the belief that Mahomet died sincerely convinced that he was the messenger of God.

PART TWO

In Part Two of "Mahomet and His Successors" Washington Irving traces the development of Arabian conquest from the death of Mahomet in 632 A.D. to the invasion of Spain in the first decade of the eighth century. Under the leadership of the prophet, Arabia had become newly conscious of a common racial and religious unity. The very precepts of Mahometanism demanded the propagation of the faith by the sword and the Arabians were quick to realize that very material plunder and dominion usually followed the banner of Mahomet. In seventy-eight years the Moslems succeeded in extending their sway over wide regions of Asia, Africa and India. They overturned the fabulously wealthy kingdom of the Persians and established a prosperous government in Syria. Egypt had to pay tribute to a new lord, as she had been compelled to do so many times in the past. Arabian fleets scoured the Mediterranean and emerged victorious in sea battles against the ships of the Roman Empire. Much of the coast of Northern Africa was captured and held under the Moslem banner and Constantinople itself found the Arab hosts under its very

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Many of the men who had risen to leadership under Mahomet proved their title to fame by bearing a conspicuous part in this tremendous movement of expansion, either as military leaders and governors of distant provinces, or as caliphs in succession to the prophet himself. The jealousies of men and cities, the ambitions of various designing rulers, brought about critical situations in which the Arabian empire seemed about to crumble, but it somehow managed to retain its belief in its own destiny and to carry out successfully nearly all of its hoped-for conquests.

Election of the First Caliph and the Beginning of the Campaign against Syria

The death of Mahomet left his people without a religious or political head. The growth of the newly formed empire had been so closely associated with the personality of the prophet that many were unable to envision its continuence without his direction and inspiration. Four successors to Mahomet were in the popular mind: Abu Becker; Omar; Othman, and Ali. Abu Becker was the father of Ayesha, the favorite wife of Mahomet. Omar was the father of Hafsa, the wife to whom Mahomet had entrusted the chest containing the revelations of the Koran. Othman had married successively two of the prophet's daughters, but neither of them was alive at the death of the prophet. Ali was a cousin of Mahomet and was married to his daughter, Fatima.

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At the death of the prophet many prominent Moslems gathered, without the knowledge of Ali, to settle the question of succession. Abu Becker and Omar were the leaders of this group and the first decision made was that the caliphate was not to be made heriditary, but elective, thus disposing of Ali's claims of consanguinity. A violent dispute soon arose as to the respective claims of Mecca and Medina in the appointment of the new leader. Just as this quarrel seemed about to be settled by the sword, Omar arose, advanced to Abu Becker, and kissed his hand in token of allegiance to him as the new caliph. This generous action convinced the populace of the worth of Abu Becker and they hailed him as the new caliph. Ali refused for a time to pledge allegiance to the new government, on the plea that the election of Abu Becker had been secured without fair consideration of his own claims, but he at length gave nominal agreement to the new order.

At the accession of Abu Becker many of the Arabian tribes threatened to withdraw from his government, until for a time the cities of Mecca, Medina and Tayef alone were loyal. The rebellious tribes advanced upon Medina under a powerful sheik named Malec Ibn Nowirah. The new caliph sent forth an army of fortyfive hundred men to meet them, commanded by Khaled Ibn Waled. This force succeeded in putting the rebels to route, but Kaled disobeyed instructions by putting Malec to the sword, instead of obtaining his submission and allegiance. The rebellious tribes had learned, however, that the Mahometan sword could still smite and all thought of further disloyality passed from their minds.

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Syria had always beckoned to the Moslems as a wealthy, fertile country with whose resources they had become thoroughly acquainted as the result of countless mercantile expeditions. It had been the dying injunction of the prophet that the Moslem faith be extended throughout the world. Syria, nearest of the Oriental countries on the borders of Arabia, seemed the logical point at which to begin. Furthermore, Abu Becker well knew that the rewards of conquest had played an important part in developing the empire under Mahomet. The moment appeared propitious, for both the Persian and the Byzantine Empires were nearly exhausted as the result of warfare against one another. Abu Becker therefore assembled, without great difficulty, a large force and dispatched it, under the command of Yezid, to the conquest of Syria. On the borders of Syria Yezed encountered a body of troops sent by the Roman Emperor Heraclius to observe him and put him, if possible, to route. Other minor encounters with the Greeks resulted in great booty being captured and sent back to Medina, to the great gratification of the caliph and all his people.

Further armies were now raised by the exultant Abu Becker and sent in four divisions, under the general command of Yezed, or rather his successor Abu Obeidah, into different parts of Syria. Another force was sent into Irak, a province under the Persian throne, commanded by the successful general Khaled, who captured the city of Hira, slew the king in battle, and exacted the first tribute ever imposed by Moslems upon a foreign land in the form of an annual tribute of seventy thousand pieces of

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gold. He next defeated three successive Persian armies sent against him, captured the Persian governor, and sent his crown, with a fifth part of the booty, to the caliph. Encamped upon the Euphrates, Khaled sent a letter to the Persian monarch demanding that he embrace the Moslem faith or pay tribute.

The news from Syria was not at this time reassuring. Abu Obeidah lacked the qualities of a great leader and allowed himself to become discouraged at some minor reverses. Abu Beker thereupon ordered Khaled to reenforce Abu Obeidah and to take over the command. The Moslems, under Serjabil Ibn Hasanah, besieged the important commercial city of Bosra, but was badly defeated. Just as he was about to withdraw his forces Khaled appeared with his army and drove the foe within the city. One day the armies faced each other upon the plain. Romanus, the Christian commander, advanced to challenge Khaled to single combat. As Khaled rode forward with lowered lance, Romanus began a conversation with him in an undertone. He had, he declared, lost all faith in Christianity and offered to embrace Islamism and to do his utmost to deliver the city into the hands of the Arabs. Khaled agreed to the suggestion, but suggested that they engage in a sham battle, so that Romanus' change of heart be not suspected After suffering severely at the hands of Khaled, Romanus retired to his command and withdrew it into the city. The people of Bosra, however, were enraged at his cowardice, expelled him from command, and placed over him the new governor who had arrived with reenforcements from the Emperor Heraclius.

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During the night Abda'lrahman, son of the caliph, while engaged in scouting under the city walls, encountered Romanus advancing toward the Arab camp. Enraged at his treatment by the people of Bosra, he had descended from a window of his house, which was on the city wall, and now offered to admit a band of Moslems to take the city by surprise. Abda'lrahman led this little band undetected to the home of the governor, whom he killed at a blow. The signal shout of Allah Achbar was raised, the city gates were thrown open, and Bosra fell into the hands of the Arabs. This occurence is more or less typical of Oriental warfare, where stratagem and treachery often played as important a share in military operations as did force.

Siege and Capture of Damascus

The beautiful city of Damascus now invited the attention of the Moslems. One of the largest and wealthiest of the great commercial cities of the East, its possession would mean great booty and power to the Mahometans. Heraclius heard of the proposed attack upon this important city of Syria, but supposed that the troops of Khaled were a mere predatory band and contented himself with sending five thousand additional troops to the city, which he knew was very strongly fortified. Upon the arrival of the army of Khaled, forty thousand strong, there were the usual vainglorious challenges and personal combats, in which the leaders of Damascus lost their lives.

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Mahometan success and sent a messenger to Heraclius beseeching aid. The Roman emperor, at length realizing the seriousness of the situation, dispatched a hundred thousand veteran troops to the relief of Damascus. When news of this approaching force reached the Arabs, the judgment of Abu Obeidah prevailed. Khaled continued the siege of the city, while Derar was chosen to lead an expedition to assault the enemy without engaging his entire force. Derar, with more impetuosity than military acumen, attacked the main body of the enemy, tenfold in number, and was being badly worsted when the main Moslem army under Khaled, who had been notified of the disaster, arrived. Khaled, who seems outstanding among the Arabian leaders, defeated each division of the Christian army as it arrived on the field of battle, although he possessed only a third of the enemy's numbers.

Upon hearing of the disaster of his latest army, Heraclius raised seventy thousand more men, placed them under the command of his former leader Werdan, and sent them to raise the siege of Damascus. There was much preliminary skirmishing, but one day, as the battle was about to become general, a Christian messenger sought speech with Khaled. He brought a request for a meeting from Worden, in an effort to arrange terms of peace, but the messenger warned Khaled that if he met Worden alone, as requested, he would be ambushed by ten chosen men concealed nearby. The armeis were withdrawn, as if the parley had been accepted. Degar took ten men, in the dead of night discovered the party of the Christians in ambuscade, and slew each man in his sleep. He then clad his own men in the Christians' garments, concealed them

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at the appointed place, and awaited developments. In the morning Khaled, as agreed, met Werdan between the lines. Neither leader desired peace and the discussion came to an abrupt end when the Roman leader summoned to his aid his supposedly ambushed force. The Arabians sprang forth, Derar severed the head of Werden with a blow of his scimitar and, placing it upon a lance, exhibited it before the Roman army. Dismay struck the hearts of the Christians when they saw their leader dead, the army fled in confusion, and the Arabians once more came into possession of great booty.

Damascus now lay undefended and an easy prey, after seventy days of siege, to Moslem arms. Knowing that Abu Obeidah was humane and averse to bloodshed, some of the leading men of Damascus undertook to treat with him secretly for the delivery of the city. In spite of the fact that the caliph had superceded him in command, Abu Obeidah now engaged to bring hostilities to a close upon the delivery of the city into his hands. The inhabitants were to be permitted to depart unharmed with what they could carry, or to remain as tributaries of the Moslems.

With typical Oriental treachery, an apostate priest had also secretly approached Khaled, offering to admit the Arabs through a gate at a given time, in return for the personal safety of himself and his family. Khaled instantly accepted the offer, his men were admitted to the city, where they opened the gates to the Moslem hordes. Khaled desired to submit the city to fire and sword and was consequently amazed to come upon Abu Obeidah in the great square before the church of the Virgin Mary, with

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sword sheathed, in the midst of a pacific group of Arabians and Syrians.

A sharp altercation ensued between the two Arabian leaders, in which Khaled reproached Abu Obeidah with exceeding his authority. Abu Obeidah, in reply, argued that there were many Syrian cities yet to be captured, that it was important that the terms of the capitulation be observed, as it might persuade many of these cities to surrended without bloodshed. The milder policy finally prevailed and the inhabitants of Damascus were permitted to depart.

Election of Omar to the Caliphate. Further Campaigns in Syria.

The death of Abu Beker once more subjected the Arabian empire to political turmoil, which was largely avoided, however, by the immediate election of Omar. Ayesha, the wife of Mahomet, supported his candidacy, as opposed to that of Ali, for whom she had an inveterate enmity. One of Omar's first acts was to replace Abu Obeidah in command of the armies of Syria, as he considered him rash and unfitted for command.

The advance of a powerful Imperial army now threatened the Arabian invasion of Syria. The emperor had staked the fortunes of this favorite province upon a single blow. Abu Obeidah, realizing the importance of the coming battle and diffident of his military ability, voluntarily surrendered the command of the Moslem forces to Khaled. At Yermouk the two great armies came together in one of the greatest open battles between Christian the ended of the state of the second of the second of the state of the second of the second of the second of the

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and Moslem. At first the vast numbers and superior discipline of the Greek and Roman forces beat back the right wing of the Arabs. But two battalions of Arabian women, armed with tent poles, were in the rear to greet any Moslem inclined to fly, and most of the Arabs preferred to face the Christian attack to that of their enraged women. The Grecian phalanx thrice threw back the Mahometan attack, and thrice they were driven back to battle by the women. Only nightfall brought cessation to the battle.

On the following morning the Moslems were again sorely pressed. The Christian archers contributed greatly to the discouragement of the Arabs, blinding seven hundred of them with their arrows. The women now engaged in combat with the enemy. The heroic sister of Derar was wounded and struck down, but her female friend Offeirah smote off the head of her captor and rescued her. For several successive days the outcome of the battle hung in the balance. At length the fanatical valor of the Moslems prevailed and the Christian host was completely routed.

Siege and Capture of Jerusalem

Jerusalem, as Irving made quite clear in his biography of Mahomet, possessed as much religious significance for a Moslem as a Christian. They reverenced it as the seat of former prophecy and revelation and connected it with the history of Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet. The prophet himself had always hoped for

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the conversion of the city to Mahometanism and this knowledge was sufficient to make the true Moslem believe himself engaged in a holy war.

The city was naturally strong in its situation, being well protected by ravines, as well as fortified walls. At the summons of the Moslem army, therefore, to accept the religion of Mahomet or become tributaries, the city resolved upon a strong defense. Sophronius, the Christian patriarch, announced that Jerusalem was a holy city, and that anyone who entered it with hostile intent was liable to the judgment of Heaven. The Arabs replied that the Moslem had as much claim to the city as the Christian, for had not Mahomet made his nocturnal ascent to Heaven from Jerusalem, and did not the bones of many Moslem prophets lie in her tombs?

Four wintry months elapsed before the people of Jerusalem decided that further resistance was useless. The patriarch finally agreed to surrender the city, if the caliph would come in person to accept the keys of the city. This unusual condition was agreed to and the articles of capitulation became a model for the Moslem leaders in their later conquests. The Christians were to build no new churches in the surrendered territory. The churches themselves were to be open to Christian and Moslem alike, day or night. The bells should only toll, not ring, and the Christian symbol, the cross, should nowhere be exhibited. The Christians should never be clothed after the Moslem fashion, but should always be distinguished by their girdles. A Christian

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should always rise upon the entrance of a Moslem and should remain standing until the Moslem was seated. Any Moslem must be entertained three days without charge by any Christian, nor could a Christian sell wine, bear arms, or use a saddle when riding upon a horse.

The Invasion of Egypt and Persia

Arabian desires now turned to the invasion of Egypt, still another rich province under the dominion of the Roman Empire. The caliph himself appears to have been doubtful of the wisdom of sending an expedition of five thousand men to accomplish its subjection, for he sent a letter to his commander telling him to return instantly to Mecca if he had not crossed the borders of Egypt, but to continue his march with the blessing of Allah if he had actually penetrated that country. Amru, the Arabian leader, suspecting the contents of the letter, forbore to receive the messenger until assured that he was actually in Egypt.

Memphis, then called Misrah, was first forced to submit to siege. The Moslems rarely carried engines necessary for battering wodn the walls of fortifications, relying upon time to starve out the garrison, while they cut off every foraging party issuing beyond the walls. After seven months siege the little army of Amru was much depleted by skirmishes with the enemy and was scarcely able to attempt the capture of the city by force, in spite of a reenforcement of four thousand men. But treachery again played into the hands of the Moslems.

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The original Egyptians, or Copts, as the conquered race, were never on harmonious terms with their Greek conquerors. The governor of Misrah, one Mokawkas, was a Copt who had won the confidence of the Emperor by professing Christianity. He now offered to deliver up the city if permitted to retain the treasure which he had obtained by unjust taxation. The offer was promptly accepted.

The metropolis of Egypt, Alexandria, now enticed the Moslem armies to further conquest. The ancient capital of the land, it was a seaport, strongly garrisoned by Greeks, who had been gatherod from every quarter in an effort to retain this last remnant of the lost province under Roman control. It appeared nothing short of madness for the Moslem to attempt the capture of this great city with the small force left at their command, but it was just this species of madness that had carried Mahomet and his followers so far upon the road of empire.

The chronicled details of this siege are meagre indeed, but it is known that the siege lasted fourteen months and that the Moslem army lost twenty-three thousand men in spite of reenforcements. At length Alexandria lay open to the invader, the Greeks retiring hastily by sea from the city. Believing the defenders of the city gone for good, Amru permitted himself to pursue with his army the scattered Greek forces in the neighborhood, leaving Alexandria for the moment unprotected. To his great chagrin, he found upon his return that the wily Greeks had learned of his departure and had taken advantage of his absence to

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recapture the city. The second siege was short, the castle was captured by assault, the Greeks once more making their escape by sea from the city.

Irving presents in interesting fashion the manner in which the famous Alexandrian Library came to be destroyed. The Moslem commander, Amru, was superior to the average Arabian commander in intelligence and training. He delighted to converse with learned men and he found many of them in Alexandria. Such a man was Philoponus, famous for his writings on Moses and Aristotle and treatises of various other kinds. Amru cultivated the acquaintance of this scholar, who noticed that the Moslem, in listing the booty of the city to be sent to the caliph, failed to include the manuscripts of the Library. With true scholastic eagerness he sought Amru and begged that, as the manuscripts were considered valueless, they be given to him. Amru, with proper caution, first inquired the will of the caliph. Omar wrote as follows: " The contents of these books are in conformity with the Koran, or they are not. If they are, the Koran is sufficient without them; if they are not, they are pernicious. Let them, therefore, be destroyed." Thus did the unthinking zeal of an ancient scholar bring about the destruction of one of the greatest libraries of all time.

The advance into Persia began inauspiciously with the first reverse to Mahometan arms for many years. Queen Arzemia of Persia, aroused to the danger threatening her empire, sent a force of thirty-three thousand men under an able general named Rustam

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Ibn Ferukh-Zad. This commander had with him thirty elephants, including Mahmoud, a white elephant famous for having been ridden by the Ethiopian king Abraha, when he had invaded Mecca in former times. This elephant was considered a sure harbinger of victory, as he had never been present at a defeat.

Abu Obeidah, the Moslem commander, resolved to bridge the Euphrates and attack this strong force. Criticised for his previous slowness and indecision, he resolved to emulate Khaled in his victorious enterprise. His troops did not follow him with their usual dash across the bridge of boats, for they felt the rashness of such an attack. While crossing the bridge the Moslems were severely galled by the Persian archers, and at the end of it they met Rustam with his cavalry and elephants. Abu Obeidah called upon his men not to fear the elephants, but to strike at their trunks. He aimed a blow at the famous white elephant, but his foot slipped and the enraged animal trampled him to death. The Moslems, disheartened at the loss of their commander, sought to retreat across the bridge, but the Persians had set fire to the boats and their escape was cut off. The main body of the Arabs succeeded in retreating along the bank of the river until a temporary bridge could be constructed, but four thousand Moslems was the price paid for this rash attempt. This disaster occured in the thirteenth year of the Hegira and was long remembered as The Battle of the Bridge.

After the great Moslem victory of Kadesia there remained only the capture of the Persian capital, Madayn, to complete

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the conquest of the empire. Persian resistance rapidly disappeared; cities of some importance, including Babel, capitulated without any defense. There were sufficient troops in Madayn to offer serious resistance, had there been anyone capable of inspiring leadership. The Persian emperor, Yezdegird, proved to be a craven and deserted his capital when the Moslem army was within a day's march of the place. Needless to say, the Arabs seized the city and sacked it.

The Persian capital was the wealthiest of any Oriental city ever captured by the Arabs. Persian civilization, while effete, had reached heights unknown to the ignorant Arabs. They found themselves surrounded by works of art whose worth they utterly failed to appreciate and a luxury which excited their ridicule rather than their admiration. The white marble palace of the Khosrus did, however, excite their wonder. They recalled the action of a former Persian emperor, who had torn a letter from Mahomet into pieces, and Mahomet's prophetic words: "Even so shall Allah rend his empire in pieces." The capture of Madayn seemed to them the fulfillment of the prophecy of the apostle of God.

The suspension of Saad from the supreme command of the Moslem armies gave Yezdegird, who had taken refuge at Rei, some encouragement. He succeeded in assembling an army of one hundred and fifty thousand troops and placed them under the command of the veteran leader, Firuzan, who was old and infirm, but full of intelligence and spirit. Firuzan, knowing the impetuous

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attack of the Arabs and their great success in the open field, held his army behind elaborate defenses, hoping to tire out the Arabs, when he might strike a decisive blow. After the lapse of two months the Moslem troops began to murmur at the delay, so their commander Nu'man hastily retreated. This feint to draw out the enemy was successful, so Nu'man continued his retreat another day's march, until he had drawn the Fersians well away from their fortifications. On the following day he struck the decisive blow and put the Persians to utter rout. Both leaders lost their lives in combat and the number of Persians slain is recorded as one hundred thousand. Immense booty fell into Moslem hands and among the Arabs the battle is recorded as "The Victory of Victories". The subsequent death of the Persian Emperor, Yezdegird, made the conquest of the country complete and Persia now became a conquered province paying annual tribute to Mecca.

Assasination of Omar and the Election of Othman as Caliph

Among the Persians who had been brought to Medina as slaves was one named Firuz, a fire-worshipper. His master taxed him two pieces of silver out of his earnings as a carpenter, of which he made complaint to Omar, who pronounced the tax a reasonable one. Three days later, as Omar was at prayer in the mosque, Firuz entered suddenly and stabbed the caliph three times before he could be restrained. The slave put up a furious resistance, killing several of Omar's attendants before one of them succeeded in throwing his vest over him, when, impeded as he was, he managed to stab himself to the heart.

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Omar, more than any of the caliphs since Mahomet, had the qualities of a great leader. He had proved himself a man of great intelligence and unquestioned integrity, carrying out the inspirations of the prophet, and promulgating wise laws for his ever-expanding empire. Especially had he proved successful in controlling the generals of his various armies, in spite of the handicap of distance and the tendency of certain leaders to carry out their own desires. He may be considered, more than any of the other caliphs, as the founder of the Islam Empire. During the short space of ten years, Syria, Persia, and Egypt had come under the Mahometan banner.

The caliphate was offered to Ali, with the stipulation that he would govern according to the Koran and the traditions of Mahomet, as well as by the regulations established by the preceding caliphs, Abu Beker and Omar. Ali replied that he would proceed according to the Koran and the authentic traditions of Mahomet, but in other ways he would be guided by his own judgment. This answer proved unsatisfactory and another candidate, Othman Ibn Affan, who assented to all the conditions, was immediately chosen.

Othman found himself beset with difficulties almost at the start. One of his first acts was to remove Amru from the chief command of the armies of Egypt and to appoint his own fosterbrother, Abdallah Ibn Saad, in his place. The people of Egypt, who had been satisfied with the administration of Amru, threatened revolt, and the Roman Emperor Constantine, who had

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succeeded his father Heraclius, also took advantage of the change to recapture Alexandria. Realizing his error, Othman restored Amru to command, with instructions to retake Alexandria. This he succeeded in doing, after an obstinate defense. His first act was to destroy the fortifications of the city, so that never again would he have to capture a city three times in order to hold it.

During the caliphate of Othman, the Moslems first gained notable naval victories. Moawyah, the son of Abu Sofian, fitted out a fleet and quickly subdued the island of Cyprus. In battle with a large Christian fleet in the Phoenician Sea, in which the Roman emperor was cruising, he was eminently successful, the Emperor himself escaping only by dint of sails and oars. The islands of Crete and Malta soon capitulated, as did likewise Rhodes, whose famous colossal statue of brass Moawyah broke in pieces of small size and sold to a Jewish merchant of Edissa.

Dissension now arose against Othman. He was criticised for appointing members of his own family to important positions, regardless of capability. The accusation was also made that he lavished the public money upon his favorites. After much intrigue he was finally stabbed by a group of conspirators. The body of Othman lay exposed for three days and was buried finally in the clothing in which he had been slain, without any religious ceremonies.

Election of Ali to the Caliphate

Ali, the cousin of Mahomet, one of four candidates for the

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office of caliph, was chosen to succeed Othman. The new leader of the Arabian Empire found loyalty to the caliphate decidedly upon the wane. The religious enthusiasm which had worked such miracles under Mahomet had been weakened by life among the more luxurious peoples of the Far East. New factions sprang up with the election of each succeeding caliph and the popularity and renown of famous Moslem generals often proved a threat to the stability of the state. Under the weak rule of Othman the governors of the distant provinces had grown in personal power and their allegiance to Mecca had suffered. Leading Arabians feared civil war and prevailed upon Ali to accept the caliphate.

The first act of the new caliph was to appoint new governors over the Arabian provinces. The new governor of Arabia Felix was received, it is true, but the former governor, Jaali, removed the treasure of the city and deposited it in the hands of Ayesha, the former wife of Mahomet, who planned a revolt against Ali.

Ali's new governors at Bassora and Cufa were glad to escape from these cities with their lives. The people would have none of them. Saad Ibn Kais, the new governor of Egypt, thought it prudent to retire, also. Moawyah, governor of Syria, sent his cavalry against his successor, as soon as he set foot in the province, and compelled him to return to Mecca.

The new caliph now found Ayesha, Mahomet's favorite wife, in active rebellion against him. She appeared with her followers before Bassora, where, after several days of alternate skirmish-

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ing and negotiation, she brought about the capture of the governor and the city. Ayesha falsely accused Ali of the murder of Othman and was the fountain-head of the opposition. Ali hastened with about nine hundred men to Bassora, demanding reenforcements from various cities as he marched. The two armies faced each other for several days and civil war might have been averted but for the persistent hatred of Ayesha, who finally succeeded in bringing about a combat. It was an obstinate and bloody conflict, in which Zobeir and Telha, the murderers of Othman who had conspired with Ayesha, lost their lives. In spite of the exertions of Ayesha, who rode among the men on her great camel Alascar, victory came to the arms of Ali.

The rebellious governor of Syria, Moawyah, now required attention. Moawyah had succeeded in securing the alliance of Amru, whom Ali had displaced as the governor of Egypt. Amru hastened to Syria with a large force and proclaimed Moawyah caliph amid the acclamation of the populace. Ali took the field with an army of ninety thousand men and met the enemy's forces, about eighty thousand soldiers, on the banks of the Euphrates. Days of negotiation again intervened, for Ali was loath to shed Arabian blood. He even challenged Moawyah to single combat, leaving it to Allah, as he said, to decide between them, but Moawyah knew that he would probably be the loser and refused the challenge. A sanguinary encounter at length took place, which continued throughout the night. On the morrow, when the Syrians appeared to be losing, Amru suggested an appeal to the religious instincts

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of Ali's men. His own men elevated the Koran on the points of their lances crying out: "Behold the book of God. Let that decide our differences!" Ali, who knew this to be a mere trick, attempted to continue the fight, but the superstitious fears of his soldiers were aroused and they refused further battle.

Negotiators were now appointed to settle the dispute between the caliph and his rebellious enemies. Moawyah now succeeded in having Amru appointed his representative. All desired Abdallah Ibn Abbas, an intelligent and forceful man, but, upon objection to him being raised as a blood relative of Ali, had to be content with Abu Musa. Amru was far superior in sagacity to Musa and succeeded in having Moawyah named caliph. Though this decision was accepted by few except the Syrians, Ali's power began to wane. Amru hastened with six thousand horse to Egypt and, such was the unsettled condition of the province at that time, succeeded in conquering that country for Moawyah.

Violence and conspiracy again entered Arabian affairs to change the course of history. Three members of the sect of Karigites met as pilgrims in the mosque at Mecca, agreed among themselves that all the troubles of Arabia could be traced to the ambitions of Ali, Moawyah, and Amr and decided to assassinate each of them. Moawyah escaped with a severe wound from which he recovered, the second assassin killed another whom he mistook for Amru, but Ali was dealt a mortal blow from which he died three days later.

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The Siege of Constantinople

In accordance with tradition, the dying Ali refused to nominate his successor, but his eldest son Hassan was elected without opposition. Hassan was far more the scholar than the executive and he had little inclination for the responsibilities and dangers of the caliphate. In return for the payment of a large sum, therefore, he gave up his claim and Moawyah became the successor of Mahomet.

Moawyah, the sixth caliph, was ambitious and wealthy. He longed to emulate Mahomet and his successors by further extending the conquests of the Moslems. Further military effort, he thought, would drive the memory of civil war from the Arabian mind and serve to give new unity to the country. He also wished to bring his son Yezid, whom he wished to nominate his successor, before the eyes of his people as a military conqueror. He therefore turned his thoughts toward the capture of Constantinople, the capitol of the Greek and Roman Empire.

He succeeded in arousing the Moslem ardor for this holy war, as tradition recorded that the capture of Constantinople was a fervent wish of Mahomet's. Hassan, the son of Ali, and the flower of Arabian chivalry, enlisted in this patriotic enterprise and great preparations were made by land and sea. The Arabian Empire still possessed soldiers capable of enduring great hardships and endowed with great bravery, while the Greeks were in a state of military decline. Constantinople, under the weak

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strength and the state of

rule of Constantine, had become an effeminate city given over to excessive luxury and political intrigue.

The Moslem fleet passed without opposition through the Dardanelles and the army disembarked within seven miles of the Capitol. Countless fierce attacks were made in an effort to scale the city walls, but the fortifications of Constantinople were perhaps the strongest of all Europe and the inhabitants fought with the desperation of despair. Soldiers from all over the Empire had taken refuge within its walls and constituted a strong and numerous garrison. The use of Greek fire, on land and during several naval engagements, also did much to discourage the Moslems. For six years, at intervals, the Arabs attempted the capture of the city, but were finally compelled to content themselves with ravaging the neighboring coasts of Europe and Asia. At length Moawyah, with advancing years, felt that the security of his empire was menaced by the Greeks and actually entered into a truce with them by which he agreed to pay the Roman Emperor an annual tribute of three thousand pieces of gold for thirty years. Moawyah died in the year 697 and it is significant of altered conditions in the Arabian empire that he was interred at Damascus, which city he had made the Arabian capitol.

The Arabian Empire from the Succession of Yezid to the Invasion of Spain in 710

Yezid, the son of Moawyah, succeeded to the caliphate

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without the usual ceremony of an election, a circumstance which shows the growth of the monarchical idea in the formerly democratic land of Arabia. He lacked most of the old, sturdy qualities of the former caliphs, resembling more the Oriental potentate in his love of luxury and covetousness. Hosein, the son of Ali, refused to recognize Yezid as caliph. The city of Cufa, loyal to the memory of Ali, sent word to Hosein that it would furnish him with troops for a rebellion if he would come to it. Before Hosein could arrive, Yezid had heard of the conspiracy, sent his representative Obeid'allah to displace Cufa's disloyal governor, and prevented the outbreak. Hosein did succeed in gathering a small band of insurgents, but was easily defeated and put to death. Medina and Mecca, inspired to rebellion by Abdallah, were likewise captured and once more placed under the banner of the caliph. The untimely death of Yezid, in 683, put an end to an unimportant period of Arabian history.

No longer a matter of election, the son of Yezid, now succeeded to the governorship of the Arabian empire. Moawyah the second was perhaps the least fitted of any of the caliphs for his important office. He was feeble in mind and body and his abdication at the end of six months delivered Arabia over to a period of distraction in which the caliphate became the goal of various ambitious men. From this period up to the time of the invasion of Spain, the Moslem empire was in the throes of civil war. Various usurpers attempted to seize the Arabian provinces, whose loyalty to Moslem control varied with the

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determination of the leader who managed to gain temporary control. Babylonia suffered from this civil strife. Mecca, which sheltered Abdallah who aspired to be caliph, was sacked by his rival for the office, Abd'almalec, and the sacred Caaba destroyed by fire. Abd'almalec now aspired to revive ancient Arabian glories and his first move was to refuse further payment of tribute to the Roman Emperor. The emperor, Leontius, newly come to the throne, had not firmly established his dominion and several of the Christian cities in the Orient opened their doors to the Moslem.

Abd'almalec next sought to conquer the northern coast of Africa. Carthage, after a long siege, fell a victim to Arab persistence. While sacking that city a large Christian fleet from Constantinople, Sicily and Spain, appeared in the harbor. The Arab commander, Hossan, felt unable to compete with such a large force and withdrew to Tripoli to await reenforcements from the caliph. When these arrived he again took the field, met the Christian army not far from Utica, and put it to route. Moslem naval successes in Sicily, Sardinia and Mallorca convinced the Arabs that an invasion of Spain would be successful. It is a matter of history that the Arabs did seize and occupy Spain for a period of eight hundred years. At this point in his development of the history of the Arabian Empire Irving brought his history to a close.

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CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF "MAHOMET AND HIS SUCCESSORS"

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There cannot be the slightest doubt that Washington Irving's residence in Spain was the immediate source of his inspiration to write his chronicle of the great Arab prophet and his successors. His research work for the material of "The Conquest of Granada" led him into intimate acquaintance with Arabian customs and character. Most of the particulars for his works involv- 1 ing Arab dominion were drawn from Spanish sources, as he announces in his Preface to "Mahomet and His Successors." A copy of Gagnier's translation of the Arabian historian Abulfeda, which he found in the Jesuits' Library of the Convent of St. Isidro at Madrid, he writes proved invaluable to him.

There was to Irving a high romance in the growth of a coalition of wild Arab tribes into a great Moslem empire which threatened to over-run all Europe. The personality of Mahomet, an untutored man whose personal magnetism was sufficient to overawe all whom he encountered, afforded a study of intense interest, linked as it was so closely with the history and development of early Arabia. Irving also admired greatly the fine personal qualities of these early Moslems, who possessed so much nobility of character and such intrepidity of soul.

It was quite natural that the author should desire to make a study of the early growth of Arabia, after recording the history of the later overthrow of the Moslems from a country 1. Washington Irving, "Mahomet and His Successors", Preface, p.15. And the second s

over which they held sway for hundreds of years. He wished to make use of such material as he had gathered in the process of preparing his other works in Spain. His revision of the work years after its first compilation, when he had some slight leisure in his capacity of Minister to Spain, and his final publication of the work upon his return to America, show clearly that his interest in it was not to be dissipated by the passing of the years or a change of residence.

Irving, in writing his preface to the work in his study at Sunnyside in 1850, denied any intention of writing a formal history. He called his work a combination of biography and chronicle, which he adopted because it permitted him the informality of introducing all the anecdote and comment that he wished. He produced, as always, a work of interest and literary charm, but the length of the period that he covered and the repetitiousness of much of the detail leads one to wonder if he was altogether wise in keeping so closely to the chronological order and detailed narrative which the chronicle type of literary expression required.

The book, to me, lacks something of the spontaneity of his "Conquest of Granada". When one considers that "Mahomet and His Successors" was revised at least twice and was published years after it was first written, this lack is not at all remarkable, but it is regrettable. In his capacity as chronicler he sacrifices his opportunities as a commentator. Had Irving adopted a less restrictive form of literary expression and per-

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mitted himself a freer play of his own enthusiastic interpretation of Moslem character and achievement, he would have produced a more readable and significant book.

LIFE OF OLIVER GOLDSMITH

During the last years of his life at Sunnyside, Washington Irving was engaged in a revision of his works, at the request of his publisher, George Palmer Putnam. One day, in the course of conversation between the two, Putnam remarked that he was about to reprint Forster's "Life of Goldsmith". Irving at once remarked that he had always wished to write a life of Goldsmith and Putnam, knowing his unusual qualifications for such a task, immediately commissioned him to do so. The resulting biography proved to be one of the most delightful works from the pen of Irving.

That this was a labor of love is apparent in every line. That Irving was the ideal author for such a subject is beautifully expressed in the words of Prof. George W. Greene, who writes: 1 "None but a man of genial nature should ever attempt to write the life of Goldsmith: one who knows how much wisdom can be extracted from folly; how much better for the heart it is to trust than to doubt; how much nobler is a generous impulse than a cautious resolve; how much truer a wisdom there is in benevolence than in all the shrewd devices of worldly craft. Now, Mr. Irving is just the man to feel this, and to make you feel it too." No

1. Pierre M. Irving, Life and Letters of Washington Irving, Vol. 4, p. 58.

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man, it seems to me, could receive a finer tribute than this.

Irving was a man of great nobility of character, who was quick to recognize and admire that quality in others. Oliver Goldsmith was the very embodiment of these admirable traits and Irving felt a kinship of spirit with him that is evident in every line of his biography. He wrote it in the spirit of the crusader, possessed with the gentle greatness of the man, determined that a cold and sceptical world should do his memory full justice.

The author gives us a particularly clear and sympathetic picture of Goldsmith's early life. Born in 1728 in the hamlet of Pallas in Ireland, Goldsmith's father was a clergyman of very limited means, his mother a woman accustomed to eke out the family income with thrifty care. But if financial worries were a constant factor in the family life, there is little to prove it. His father was a man of "learned simplicity", an ideal pastor whose one thought was of the welfare of his flock. By nature improvident, generous to a fault, utterly ignorant of worldly affairs, his education was greater than his fortune and he was content that it was so.

When Oliver was two years of age his father, by the death of his wife's uncle, succeeded to the rectory of Kilkenny West and moved his family to Lissoy, where he enjoyed a greater income and an estate of seventy acres. The boy inherited the qualities of the father, that is to say, he early showed generosity of heart and an entire absence of worldly thrift. Impulsive, imaginative, impatient of the formal knowledge which forms so

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large a part of youthful education. he seemed to his teachers thoroughly dull and unteachable. One of his early instructors, Thomas Byrne, indirectly fostered Oliver's love for the imaginative and the adventurous by narrating his own exploits in the wars, when he should have been instructing his pupils in more profitable, though less interesting, matters. An attack of smallpox, which left him marked for life, resulted in Oliver's removal from the care of this unusual pedagogue, but his early literary proclivities showed themselves in a propensity to scribble verse, which he usually destroyed. In whatever school he found himself, Oliver was the leader in sports and mischief and his thoughtless generosity endeared him to all his schoolmates.

A characteristic and amusing incident occured when the lad was returning home from school twenty miles from his home. Goldsmith borrowed a guinea from a friend, procured a horse, and set out on his homeward journey. Such state in travelling and such wealth in his pockets stirred him to imaginative heights and he determined to play the man of the world before hurrying home. Halting at the little Irish village of Ardagh, he inquired of a passerby the way to the nearest inn. Unfortunately, he had encountered a practical joker who directed him to the home of the principal inhabitant of the village, a Mr. Featherstone. With what he assumed to be proper manly assurance, Oliver swaggered into the house, called for the best room, demanded a sumptuous supper, and condescendingly invited the host and his family to share a bottle of wine. Mr. Featherstone, who seems to have been

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a man of great good humor, discovered the boy to be the son of his old friend, the Rev. Charles Goldsmith, and permitted the farce to proceed undetected until morning, when he acquainted poor Oliver with his error. Goldsmith's confusion may be imagined, but he afterwards made full literary use of the escapade, as he did so many of the other amusing incidents of his life.

A change in the family fortunes having again occured when Oliver was about to enter Trinity College, Dublin, he found himself entering academic circles as a sizer, or poor scholar, a situation intolerable to the sensitive youth. Compelled to wear an academic garb which marked his social inferiority and to perform menial duties distasteful to a lad of spirit, Goldsmith was also unfortunate in the personality of the tutor who supervised his studies. The Rev. Theaker Wilder belied his title greatly. His temper was violent and his scholarship diametrically opposed in its interests to that of Goldsmith. A devotee of mathamatics and the sciences, Wilder attempted to compel his new scholar to like interests. His complete failure enraged him to the point of public abuse and even personal violence. The future writer's unprepossessing appearance -- he was of under size, with a somewhat awkward body and pockmocked features of extreme plainness--seemed to him a legitimate topic for public discourse, to the infinite humiliation of young Goldsmith.

Truth to tell, young Oliver still revealed a capacity for taking what scholastic food he found interesting, refusing to include in his academic diet anything which he disliked, which

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included much of the formal curriculum. His habits of industry, also, were decidedly irregular, so it is not strange that his tutor took a vindictive pleasure in ridiculing him. Goldsmith's poverty depressed his whole academic life, but it did stimulate him to write street-ball@ds., to the enrichment of his purse and the satisfaction of his creative instinct. The recipient of one minor prize during his career at the University, Goldsmith received his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1749.

His unworldly mind now faced the realities of the world with unconscious dismay. The death of his father and the poverty of his mother deprived him of all aid from that quarter. His elder brother, Henry, whom he loved devotedly, was curate and schoolmaster in his late father's parish and was scarcely able to subsist upon his earnings. There remained only his uncle Contarine, who had helped finance his college career, which had ended without the expected brilliance. His uncle suggested the Church as a fitting career and Oliver, with little inclination to exchange his rather gay garb for a black coat, underwent the necessary two years of probation. To relieve the uncongenial religious tedium, the expected curate often met his cronies at the village tavern, where bumpers were drunk and much good-natured badinage exchanged. In fact, it seemed that young Goldsmith was quite devoted at this time to this sort of entertainment. When he presented himself to the bishop for examination he was clad in a pair of scarlet breeches. Either the report of his

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tavern propensities, or the scarlet breeches, perhaps both, prejudiced the good clergyman against him and Oliver found himself again at loose ends. The two years had been passed with miscellaneous reading; biography, travel, poetry, novels, plays--anything appealing to the imagination--had attracted him.

Irving introduces many anecdotes characteristic of the impulsive and generous-hearted Goldsmith. After his failure to enter the Church, he became a tutor for a time in a private family, but found the position a servile one and abruptly decided to travel. Without a word to anyone, he engaged passage on a ship bound for America. Contrary winds delayed the sailing and Goldsmith took lodgings on shore. The wind suddenly serving, the captain suddenly set out on his voyage, without communicating with the absent passenger, who now found himself again penniless and homeless.

His uncle Contarine was ever the fairy godfather in Goldsmith's affairs. With continued generosity he now suggested that his nephew study law at the Temple in London. At Dublin, however, the careless student permitted himself to be lured into a gambling den by an acquaintance and emerged again penniless. The profession of medicine was next suggested and again it was Uncle Contarine who financed the venture. Goldsmith actually completed his medical studies at Edinboro, in spite of much time wasted in conviviality. His desire for foreign travel now mastered him again and he justified it this time by planning to comolete his medical studies at the great medical centres of Paris

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and Leyden. A small sum, advanced as usual by his uncle, enabled him to take passage for the continent.

Irving delights in the vagaries of this vagabond journey. He shows him at Leyden, where he attended the lectures of Gaubius on chemistry and Albinus on anatomy, but he shows him at greater length wandering through France and Italy, resorting to his flute to procure him a night's lodging and a quarter loaf in a peasant's hut, or engaging in learned disputations with the monks in some Italian abbey, in return for a meal and a bed. At Paris he listened to the lectures of Rouelle on chemistry, but is more interested in the acting of Mademoiselle Clairon and the inspiring society of Voltaire, with whom he was fortunate enough to come in contact.

Goldsmith is said to have taken a medical degree at Padua. The death of his uncle appears to have decided him to return to England to take up a medical career in London. But the entrance of a penniless doctor upon a professional career in London was **beset** ... with difficulties. The future poet lacked the funds necessary to clothe himself with becoming dignity and he was likewise destitute of friends and influence. Irving treats with the most sympathetic understanding the various shifts to which Goldsmith was compelled to resort. Rejected as an assistant to an apothecary, he became for a time a strolling player to eke out an existence. He became familiar with the dregs of London society, witnessing daily the effects of poverty and vice without, Irving assures us, becoming contaminated thereby. All sorts of strange characters passed before his eyes and he knew at first

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hand the bounds of human nature. This knowledge and these experiences he turned later to the fullest literary account.

In his desperation Goldsmith became an usher, or teacher, in a private school. His oddity of appearance and temperament and his unquenchable goodnature drew upon him the pertness and patronage of his young charges, who succeeded in making his life insupportable. But his presence at the table of the master of the school, Dr. Milner, unexpectedly provided an opportunity to enter the only career for which "Poor Goldsmith" was really fitted. Here he met the publisher Griffiths, who was proprietor of the "Monthly Review" and who was struck with some of his remarks upon men and books. Goldsmith submitted some of the literary work upon which he was at various periods engaged and they met with Griffith's approval. Thus the future literary lion became a salaried "hack writer" at the abode of Mr. Griffiths, at the sign of the Dunciad in Paternoster Row.

Early Literary Adventures

For some time Goldsmith labored for the bookseller Griffiths. This gentleman was possessed of little real literary ability, but fancied that he was a critic of taste and discernment. He did not hesitate, nor did his wife, to revise and criticise much that Goldsmith wrote, to the great indignation of the latter. But perhaps this experience was not an entire loss, for the poor hack writer was compelled to labor daily from nine until two and, while the unaccustomed regularity of effort acted as a great deterrent

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upon his spirits, it no doubt developed the needed ability to concentrate upon the task in hand.

Goldsmith was now thirty years of age, but as yet he had written nothing to bring him literary fame. His work appeared anonymously and was lost in the maze of London publications. But he was meeting the publishers of other periodicals and books and was himself becoming known to "the trade". He now began to write for the "Literary Magazine", a publication owned by Mr. John Newbury, bookseller, of St. Paul's Churchyard. Newbury was of a different type from Griffiths and proved himself a friend to struggling young authors, though he always took care that he secured full payment from their efforts. For some time Goldsmith continued to write miscellaneous reviews and articles without, however, gaining any great recognition thereby. Irving feels that as yet Goldsmith had not felt the stimulus of creative writing, his truant disposition being driven only by the spur of necessity.

About this time Dr. Milner promised to use his influence to procure for Goldsmith the position of medical director in India. This position was well paid and the opportunities for private practice were numerous. This position actually was offered to him and accepted, which meant that he must now finance himself for his new position and a voyage to India. Driven by this necessity, Goldsmith turned to the only source of income he had ever had, the pen. His rambles on the Continent and his research work in preparation for his writing of reviews had filled his mind with a miscellaneous mass of information which he now under-

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took to reduce to literary order, under the title "An Inquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe". He now turned with unusual industry and interest to his new work to finance his Oriental appointment. But "Poor Goldsmith's" fortune still proved elusive. The untimely death of Dr. Milner resulted in the withdrawal of the appointment and the poor hack writer found himself once more without a future.

Washington Irving, who knew them from his own residence in London, gives us a description of Oliver Goldsmith's lodgings at the now famous No. 12 Green Arbor C_ourt. The poet lived in one squalid room, furnished with one chair, on the topmost floor of a very shabby house. The house was one of several surrounding the Court, most of which were occupied by vociferous washerwomen and the humble tradesmen of the poor quarter of a great city. Clotheslines were strung from window to window, from which fluttered the multifarious garments of the neighborhood. Often the quiet of this backwash of human habitation would be broken by a scuffle, as two washerwomen disputed the ownership of a tub. Upon such an occasion windows were opened, heads thrust out, and a hideous clamor ensued, which was only quieted by the discomforture of one of the combatants.

In March, 1759, "An Inquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe" was published. In a period antecedent to one abounding in encyclopaedias such a work as Goldsmith's, written in a most pleasing style and presenting an original and independent viewpoint, met with favor and commanded a ready sale.

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Although the work appeared anonymously, Fleet Street was well aware of its authorship and it drew the jealous criticism of Kenrick, a professional vilifier in the days when vilification reached the status of an art. By his frank criticism of the type of plays then appearing on the London boards, Goldsmith was unfortunate enough to arouse the ill-will of Garrick, which was later to prove a handicap in the production of his own plays. The poet now wrote his "Chinese Letters", which appeared in Mr. John Newbery's newspaper, "The Public Ledger". These little essays attracted wide and favorable comment and were reprinted in various periodicals of the day. The only outward proof of Goldsmith's release from the extremest poverty was his removal from Green Arbor Court to respectable apartments in Wine-Office Court, Fleet Street. His ascendency to some literary importance was signalized by his election to Robin Hood, a debating club of which Edmund Burke was a distinguished member.

New Work and New Companions

At this period began the friendship between Goldsmith and Johnson. Dr. Johnson had already established himself as one of the pillars of literary England. Perhaps more than any man, his dictum regarding a new poem or play was regarded as final. Brilliant in conversation, a sound scholar, ponderous in body and mind, he was a complete contrast to the buoyant, heedless Goldsmith. Yet they had much in common. Each of them had fought poverty since childhood. At the University each of them had been

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handicapped by the necessity of accepting financial aid, with resulting damage to pride and social position. Each of them had come to London, friendless and alone, to suffer years of unrecognized toil and degredation before tardy recognition had at last been won. Each possessed qualities of temperament which the other lacked and the early acquaintance ripened into intimacy at the shop of Davies, a well-known bookseller in Covent Garden.

Goldsmith was constantly obliged to turn out a variety of literary work to keep his financial head above water. Much of this work was, therefore, uninspired by any particular creative pride. An anonymous work of this character, "The History of England", was well received by the public. The author read Hume, Rapin, Cart and other accepted authorities in the morning, made a few notes, spent the afternoon in relaxation and, before going to bed, set down the result of his morning studies in a flowing, narrative style which possessed a genuine charm and stimulated new interest.

Irving explicitely states that he has no intention of making a critical estimate of Goldsmith's works. That has long been done, he asserts, and the continued popularity of the works themselves is sufficient proof of their hold upon the reader. He seeks, instead, to reveal the man himself, whose qualities of mind and heart he so greatly admired, and to show the talented group among whom he won recognition, men foremost in the intellectual life of England.

Sir Joshua Reynolds, perhaps England's greatest portrait painter of the day, joined Johnson in his friendship for the

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rising literary man. A man of generous and simple nature, he detected the lovable qualities of this man whose uncouth exterior and sense of inferiority provoked the mirth or thoughtless scorn of the cynical or unthinking.

Johnson and Reynolds now suggested that Goldsmith be admitted to membership in the Literary Club, a club of nine members including some of the most famous names in contemporary England. Edmund Burke, David Garrick, were rising to national fame, the one as a statesman and orator, the other as an actor and playwright. Dr. Nugent was Burke's father-in-law and a physician of great repute. Sir John Hawkins had been a member of Johnson's Ivy Lane Club and was thus admitted into this new select circle. Anthony Chamier was secretary in the War Office and was proposed by Beauclerc. Topham Beauclerc and Bennet Langton were devoted admirers of Johnson and both were of aristocratic birth and vastly interested in the literature of the day. Some of the members of the Literary Club regarded Goldsmith with a dubious eye, considering him a mere hack writer and a vulgarian to boot, but Johnson, Reynolds and Burke knew his real worth and their influence was sufficient to gain him admission.

The Vicar of Wakefield The Traveller

Johnson one day received an urgent summons from Goldsmith to come to his lodgings. Upon arrival, he found the unfortunate writer under arrest for non-payment of rent. Discussion soon brought out the interesting information that Goldsmith had just

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completed a novel. As Johnson declared afterward, he immediately saw the worth of this new work. Leaving Goldsmith in the clutches of his landlady, he went at once to Francis Newbery, the bookseller, and sold him the novel which afterward became famous under the title "The Vicar of Wakefield". Newbery at the time completely failed to realize the literary value of his purchase and postponed publishing the novel for two years, until the enhanced fame of Goldsmith convinced him that he might risk the venture.

Goldsmith now diffidently confided to Johnson that he had also completed a poem upon which he had been at work for a number of years, which he called "The Traveller". The inspiration for the work had come from his ramblings upon the Continent. Again Johnson was quick to recognize the gentle spirit and affecting pathos of a work of genius and encouraged Goldsmith to seek its publication. The poem appeared as the work of Goldsmith, the first of his writings to be published under his name, and was received with acclaim. Johnson aided its favorable reception by his comment in the "Critical Review". The members of the Literary Club found it difficult to believe that the same Goldsmith whose heedless garrulity had impressed them so unfavorably could have written a poem of such distinguished literary charm and sound good sense. The poem firmly established the writer as one of the eminent authors of the day. With characteristic improvidence, the poet, feeling that his new fame demanded more dignified quarters, changed his lodgings from Wine-Office Court to the more

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affluent atmosphere of the Temple.

The success of "The Traveller" now induced Newbery to bring out "The Vicar of Wakefield", whose sale for sixty guineas had rescued Goldsmith from his usual penury. A novel of English scene and manners, it dealt with humble home life, and the Vicar himself is said to be patterned after the author's own father. The secret of its instant and lasting popularity lay in its delightful picture of home life, as seen through the kindly eyes of its author. Serenity and peace have inherent charm and the simple rural life of the little family depicted appealed to the best instincts of the English public, which began to realize that in Oliver Goldsmith it had discovered a man whose goodness of heart and sincerity of mind set him apart from most of the writers of the day. As was usual at this period, the great success of the work enriched the publisher, rather than the author, who had to be content with the sixty pounds which Johnson had extracted from the reluctant Newbery.

Goldsmith Turns Playwright

Johnson used often to censure "Poor Oliver" on his fondness for vulgar society. Never quite at ease in the critical atmosphere of the Literary Club, Goldsmith sought enjoyment at public inns, where he mingled happily with the humbler tradesmen and artisans of London. But if his taste for low companions brought forth sneers from the aristocratic Beauclerc. Goldsmith nevertheless found comfort in the plainness of plain people and

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some of his most ludicrous situations and searching humor resulted from these frequent excursions.

In 1767 Goldsmith completed his first comedy, "The Good-Natured Man". He took the play to Garrick for his perusal, as the actor had inveighed against the popular demand for sentimental comedy, which he considered insincere, artificial, and beneath the serious attention of intelligent people. But Garrick harbored a grudge against Goldsmith because of criticism of the English stage which had appeared in his work "An Inquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe" and he failed to agree to present the piece. In despair, Goldsmith took his play to Coleman at the Covent Garden Theatre, who finally decided to present it. Coleman's reluctance to rehearse the play resulted in further delays and his attitude prejudiced his company against it. But Johnson attended the rehearsals, praised the play in his dogmatic way, and insisted that it be presented. "The Good-Natured Man" appeared for ten successive nights, was acclaimed a success, and brought Goldsmith, for the first time, financial ease.

The Deserted Village

The year 1768 was made memorable in London by the establishment of the Royal Academy of Arts, under the patronage of George the Third. Sir Joshua Reynolds was appointed president of the society and Johnson and Goldsmith were honored with professorships. Literary honors delighted Goldsmith and he felt that his new position in society demanded a certain amount of

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display. His penchant for gay clothing still possessed him, an inclination which arose from the very natural desire to make up in sartorial appearance that which he lacked in natural grace. With his usual thoughtless extravagance he was usually in debt and continually borrowed from his publishers for work which was yet to be executed. But amidst necessary hack work he now produced another peom, "The Deserted Village", which was to bring him imperishable fame. This lonely man harbored tender memories of his early home in Ireland and he made the theme of his new poem the simple village life of his boyhood home, Auburn. The tender pathos with which he always enshrined this tiny hamlet crept into the lines of the poem, which is famed for the simple beauty of its description and the deep feeling which it expresses. Its sale was instantaneous and immense and of course the work enhanced the poet's renown.

The Jessamy Bride

Goldsmith, keenly sensitive of his pockmocked face and ungainly figure, had always been ill-at-ease in the presence of ladies. Garrick had jeered at his "bloom-colored coat" and the poet's vanity had been deeply wounded. At the home of his true friend, Sir Joshua Reynolds, however, he met a family who thoroughly understood his whimsical genius and natural simplicity of mind. Mrs. Horneck and her two daughters, Catherine and Mary, the latter of whom was known as the "Jessamy Bride", gave him cultivated, sympathetic feminine society almost for the first

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time in his life.. Goldsmith formed a deep attachment for Mary Horneck, whose beauty was famous over all London, which he retained to the day of his death. She, on her part, understood and respected the kindly and unworldly qualities of the poet and her gentle banter often served to lift him from his occasional moods of depression. We find him going into debt at the tailors for various suits of amazing hue, that he might appear to advantage before the gentle "Jessamy Bride".

Irving has included in his biography innumerable anecdotes illustrating the generosity and selflessness of Goldsmith. One of them is so revealing of the poet's fine sensibilities that I include it here.

One evening he was seated at the whist table at the home of Sir William Chambers, when suddenly he threw down his cards and hurried from the room. Presently he returned without comment and resumed the game. At length his host ventured to inquire the cause of his sudden departure, fearing that he had been overcome by the heat of the room. "Not at all", replied Goldsmith, "but in truth I could not bear to hear that unfortunate woman in the street, half singing, half sobbing, for such tones could only arise from the extremity of distress; her voice grated painfully on my ear and jarred my frame, so that I could not rest until I had sent her away."Needless to say, Goldsmith had emptied his pockets for the benefit of the poor ballad singer.

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She Stoops to Conquer

While Goldsmith was exquisitely sensitive to the suffering of others and could never turn a deaf ear to distress, his buoyant nature and natural optimism soon asserted itself. His rollicking humor and natural gaiety of spirit found expression in a new comedy, which was destined to add further laurels to his fame as a playwright. The piece was based upon that misadventure of his youth which had led him to mistake the house of a village magnate for an inn. The characterization of the play was as natural and spontaneous as the temperament of Goldsmith himself and the plot was ingenious in the extreme, yet the author met with the usual delays and disappointments incident to getting a play upon the boards of a London theatre at that time. In spite of the success of "The Good-Natured Man", Coleman was beset by his usual doubts and managed to infect players and public alike with his pessimism. The Literary Club determined to insure the proper reception of the play, however, and packed the theatre with its representatives, with instructions to applaud at the proper moments. This artificial stimulation was not needed, however, as the ludicrous situations and broad humor of the piece had their natural effect upon the audience, which roared its approval.

Goldsmith's Last Days

The cordial relations between Goldsmith and Johnson had suffered somewhat from the dogmatic asperities of the good doctor.

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A brilliant conversationalist, he became irritated when worsted in debate. Goldsmith, who as a rule stumbled in speech and logic when compelled to discourse occasionally in public, nevertheless at times answered the doctor so aptly that he found himself at a loss for an answer. At such moments, Johnson sometimes lowered himself by resorting to unfair tactics, scolding and berating anyone unfortunate enough to differ with him. But the good doctor still recognized the literary genius of Goldsmith, though he often found fault with him for his indiscretions, particularly his disposition to get into debt.

The poet never was able to manage his own affairs with any worldly success. He continually lived beyond his means and was constantly obliged to drive himself in various literary schemes to supply his daily wants. Constant work and worry began to have their effect upon his health. His contemplated project of a "Dictionary of Arts and Sciences", which was to recoup his waning fortunes, met with failure, as the publishers feared to publish such an ambitious work lest it fail to meet with a ready sale. In his financial distress he had removed to humbler lodgings, but he endeavored to conceal the desperateness of his situation from his friends. An effort to secure for him a government pension met with failure, as the officials who had it in their power to grant this request harbored resentment at Goldsmith's former refusal to turn his talents to controversial political writing.

Poverty prevented the poet's usual visit to the country during the summer months and his enforced residence in London

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was detrimental to health and spirits alike. Sir Joshua Reynolds perceived his friend's unhappiness and spent much of his time with him in an endeavor to cheer him. Amid the failure of repeated efforts to square accounts with his publishers by completing work for which he seemed to have lost the capacity, a ray of light brightened his winter in London. An invitation to visit the "Jessamy Bride" and her friends at their country estate lifted for a moment the veil of despondency. But the lack of funds seemed to present an insuperable barrier to this longed-for reunion. In desperation he turned to Garrick for a loan, offering as payment the transfer of his comedy, "The Good-Natured Man" to Drury Lane Theatre. Garrick refused to accept this arrangement, but loaned him the necessary funds without security. Goldsmith turned his back for a time upon care and gained new courage through the friendship and sympathy of those who really loved him.

Upon his return to London the poet attempted to forget himself in a round of gaiety, but years of mental drudgery had taken their toll and anxieties and disappointments now completed his downfall. His appetite was gone and his strength failed him. A low, nervous fever compelled him to take to his bed. He steadily failed in strength, lapsed into unconsciousness, and died on the fourth of April, 1774.

"Poor Goldsmith" died heavily in debt. All who knew him freed him from every implication of fraud; his impulsive generosity and inability to manage his financial affairs had long been common knowledge. Sir Joshua Reynolds gave up all thought

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of work for the day, upon hearing of the poet's death. Eurke, it is said, burst into tears. Johnson was deeply moved, for, though he sometimes quarreled with him, he knew Goldsmith's worth and cherished him in spite of his defects. Dying penniless, the poet was buried with unostentatious simplicity in the burying ground of the Temple Church. The members of the Literary Club, who wished to commemorate his worth as man and writer, placed a tablet to his memory in Westminster Abbey, above which stood a white marble bust of the poet. The inscription upon the tablet, in Latin, was the work of Dr. Johnson, his friend and benefactor.

CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF "LIFE OF OLIVER GOLDSMITH"

As we have already stated, Washington Irving wrote this life of Goldsmith in process of revising his works for his publisher. He had originally prepared it in the form of a brief introduction to the works of the author, which had appeared many years before. Such was his admiration for the poet and dramatist, however, from his boyhood days, when he had first made the acquaintance of his works, that he desired to pay his memory a more carefully-prepared tribute. At various times, while in England, he had visited the former haunts of the poet and his original interest in the man and his writings had been strengthened by this recreation of the atmosphere in which he had lived and struggled.

Irving aimed to stimulate new interest and understanding of Oliver Goldsmith, the man, rather than to undertake a critical dissertation of his works. He felt that the noble qualities of

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the poet were being overlooked and forgotten in idle tales of his whimsicalities and foibles. The biography abounds, therefore, in anecdote and story illustrative of the generosity and impulsiveness of Goldsmith. His idleness, his propensity for getting into debt, are balanced by the moving story of his hardships and lonliness, told with a delicacy and understanding of which Irving alone seemed capable. He has succeeded in giving us an unusually clear portrait of this man of genius, who was not to be judged by the calculating standards of the world, but rather by the measure of his own peculiar worth and individuality.

But this work is in reality far more than the biography of the man whose name appears upon the title page. Years of study and appreciation of eighteenth-century literature and long residence in the London in which these great writers had lived and worked had made their lives and achievements a very living reality to Irving. This familiarity with literary England, so strong a stimulus to a man of Irving's imagination and temperament, induced a strong desire to make his countrymen appreciate the literary heritage with which race and language had endowed them. We have, therefore, not only a very human and significant biography of Oliver Goldsmith, but a thoroughly delightful account of all his literary contemporaries, against a background of London life during a period of great natural development and national importance. All the great figures of artistic and social London move before us in most realistic fashion. We easily grasp the mood and the viewpoints of the times, presented as they are

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in simple and vivid fashion. As distinct from his essays on English life, this work of Irving possesses unity from the fact that it is written around the life of one man. That he has done full justice to the memory of Oliver Goldsmith would be difficult to doubt. The influence of his long residence in England in the handling of his subject-matter is equally apparent.

SUMMARY

Temperament and Early Environment

The temperament and early environment of Washington Irving made him unusually susceptible to the social and historical aspects of the countries he later was to visit. Born in New York, on April 3, 1783, he was the youngest of eleven children, and the eighth son of William and Sarah Irving. His father was a leading merchant of the city, a stern Presbyterian in religious faith, and a man who demanded obedience from his children. His mother was a woman of unusual charm and intelligence, a communicant of the Church of England, to whom the youthful Washington was wont to turn for sympathy and understanding.

Washington Irving attended various private schools and was tutored at home. By no means a prodigy, he was nevertheless a voracious reader of romance and travel. He was also possessed of a considerable degree of artistic skill and his early drawings and caricatures were considered to show promise. His interest in music and the theatre was developed surreptitiously, because of his father's antagonism to them.

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From his mother Washington inherited a sensitive nature, keen perceptions, and social charm to an unusual degree. Courtesy and refinement were innate qualities of his character and he was possessed of a natural poise which never deserted him. A lively imagination and genial humor, uncommon comeliness, and an unaffected interest in everyone he met, made him always welcome in any society at home or abroad.

An early tubercular tendency no doubt explains his disinclination for intense mental application as a youth. Encouraged to roam in the open air, he early developed a love of rural scenes and character types in his rambles along the Hudson valley and in journeys to the frontier districts of northern New York. His scribbling propensities manifested themselves in various youthful contributions to local papers and magazines, which, with growing maturity and experience, soon developed into his earlier literary works, the "Salmagundi Papers" and the mildly satirical "History of New York."

THE SKETCH BOOK

"The Sketch Book" owed its popularity abroad to its sympathetic depiction of English scene and character. The purpose actuating the work was a laudable desire to strengthen the natural ties of race and language between England and America, which the bitterness of war had greatly weakened. The frankness and good sense of the writer in his paper on "English Writers on America" appealed to the English idea of fair play. That an

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American could prove his complete mastery of English style and idiom was sufficiently surprising, but that he could also catch the true spirit of English institutions and scenes so effectively as to interpret them anew to the English themselves, was amazing indeed.

It was typical of the cosmopolitanism so natural to Irving that he should indulge in a crusade for a better understanding between England and the United States. He was well aware that much of the mutual antipathy was based upon misunderstanding and misrepresentation. His familiarity with the English mind was the direct result of long residence in England and wide acquaintance with all classes of Englishmen. It was this close contact with a nation lately at war with his own that made him aware of the real need of a better understanding between them. This incentive, had Irving lived in America at this period, would have been obviously lacking, so that we are quite justified in concluding that residence abroad <u>did</u> influence greatly Irving in his decision to write "The Sketch Book". The popularity of the work on both sides of the Atlantic did much to achieve the desired object.

In his various sketches Irving presented phases and character-types of life in metropolitan and rural England, as he observed and evaluated them. His comment was illuminating, sympathetic, and characteristically tactful. He invariably set forth the best qualities of English nationality, yet he avoided any appearance of flattery or subservience, which he knew would

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antagonize Englishman and American alike. Irving had outdistanced British and American public opinion alike in his bold attempt to pave the way for a permanent reconciliation between the two countries, but it was typical of his cosmopolitan mind to perceive the need of it, while others gave way to expressions of bitterness and stubborn misrepresentation.

SCOTT'S INFLUENCE UPON WASHINGTON IRVING

No discussion relating to the influence of foreign residence and association upon the works of Washington Irving would be complete without mention of the great influence of Sir Walter Scott upon the career of this early American author. Irving always delighted in testifying to his deep admiration for the Scotsman, as a man and as an author. Despondent in the midst of business care and financial distress, at the crossroads of doubt regarding his own literary ability, he turned to Scott for advice and encouragement. He received both in ample measure. It was beyond question Scott's unrestrained delight in "The Sketch Book" which decided Irving to continue upon a literary career. It was Scott who persuaded Murray to assume publication of "The Sketch Book" and Murray, be it recalled, was the outstanding publisher in London. In a familiar letter to his old friend James K. Paulding, Irving plainly stated that Scott was the only man to whom he would willingly turn in his moment of distressful uncertainty.

It was "The Sketch Book" which introduced the new American author to his British public and whetted its appetite for

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more work from the same pen. This was the only occasion in his entire literary career that Irving sought aid of anyone. It seems clear, therefore, that, had it not been for the discernment of the noble Bard of Scotland, America would have missed one of her most significant literary figures.

BRACEBRIDGE HALL

Bracebridge Hall further established the literary reputation of Washington Irving, placing him upon a footing of equality with the most famous of his contemporaries in England and on the Continent. Irving had attained a finish of style surpassing that of "The Sketch Book", though he wisely continued, in this later volume, the depiction of English scenes and character types, endeavoring to give his work added unity by the introduction of various characters in whom he felt the English public would again recognize the human embodiment of their most cherished virtues. The Squire, Master Simon, Lady Lillicraft and General Harbottle had living counterparts in many a drawing-room in England and evoked many an appreciative chuckle from a sophisticated public quick to recognize the type.

Again, it was the quiet whimsicality of Irving's approach that delighted his readers. Accustomed, during this period, to biting satire, or downright abuse, the British public was won by this new American author whose urbane humor and shrewd penetration still conceded something to the intelligence of his readers. Many of the sketches in "Bracebridge Hall" were serious in vein and

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presented a study of social and economic conditions in England from the fresh viewpoint of a foreigner thoroughly sympathetic to country and people.

TALES OF A TRAVELLER

This work derived its inspiration from Irving's ramblings on the Continent in search of health, which had suffered as the result of too constant application to the business of composition. The tales deal with adventurous episodes in England, France, Germany and Italy. An Irish captain of dragoons captures all hearts by his intrepidity in the face of the supernatural, when the furniture in his attic room at the inn in Bruges decides upon a midnight dance. "The Adventure of the Mysterious Stranger" is a long, romantic narrative in the fashion of the time, in which love, intrigue and violence play an equal share. There is the amusing description of the annual dinner given by the London publishers strictly for business purposes, in which one member of the firm attended to the carving, while the other made it his business to laugh at the jokes of the important writers who sat "above the salt". Tales of Italian banditti were also recounted, a theme suggested by the author's recent travels in the mountains of Italy. Moore, the Irish poet, with whom Irving had recently formed a lasting friendship in Paris, had described "the carving brother" and "the laughing brother", suggesting "A Literary Dinner", already mentioned.

In whatever country Washington Irving happened to be, his

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creative mind was always alert to impressions of scenes or characters. Often only a word, or a brief phrase, would appear in his notebook, but it was quite enough to suggest the source of some theme which later grew into vivid narrative. It seems as evident as anything can be that Irving constantly reacted to his surroundings in his choice of subject-matter.

THE LIFE AND VOYAGES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

The rather cool reception of "Tales of a Traveller" on both sides of the Atlantic convinced Irving that this type of literary expression was, for the moment at least, worn threadbare. It was while in a mood of depression and uncertainty that he received a letter from his friend Alexander H. Everett, Minister to Spain from the United States. Everett urged Irving to visit Spain and to make an English translation of a new work by a well-known Spanish historian, entitled "Voyages of Columbus". Arrived at Madrid, Irving quickly realized the futility of translating a work which his practiced eye told him was entirely lacking in popular appeal. But Spain and her people appealed to the romantic and imaginative nature of Irving. As he pored over dusty tomes in the Jesuits' College of San Isidro, or deciphered long-forgotten manuscripts in the Royal Library of Madrid, he became absorbed in the noble personality of Columbus and the stirring drama of his long struggle for recognition. He decided to write a life of Columbus himself, a decision which was to result in the production of one of his most famous works.

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As this history has already been exhaustively considered, it suffices for the purposes of a summary to mention briefly a few of its unusual qualities. As has been suggested, Irving was always insistent upon the value of interest. He was scrupulous in the authenticity of his facts, but realized that many of his readers would overlook the dramatic significance of those facts, did the author fail to present them with proper effectiveness. The wide acclaim with which the work was received wherever English was read is sufficient proof that Irving was entirely successful in dramatizing the life and achievements of a man who, famous as he was, had been dead for hundreds of years.

As an attache of the American Ministry at Madrid, Irving was accorded every possible facility in his research work. His literary reputation and his own charm of manner quickly endeared him to Spaniards of every class. The mastery of the Spanish tongue which he had acquired enabled him to pursue his investigations to their source in the original language. His presence in Spain made it possible for him to verify countless little items of information which he otherwise would have been forced to have taken for granted. This freshness of interest found its way into the history itself, giving it a vitality and vividness most unusual in a work of this nature.

Most important of all, without which the above-mentioned advantages would have proved of slight value, Irving possessed a temperament which fitted him perfectly for his projected work. His romantic imagination led him to appreciate the true flavor

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of the historic period in which Columbus lived and labored so deeply that it carried over into the history itself, a quality quickly grasped by his readers. He was impressed, too, with the web of intrugue against which Columbus had constantly to struggle, and made his readers realize this fact as it had never been realized before. Stirred as he was by his study of the Admiral and his times, Irving nevertheless maintained a fine impartiality, as befitted the true historian, never displaying the least degree of partisanship. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that "The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus" was read the world over, or that it became the standard textbook in many a school and college class-room.

VOYAGES OF THE COMPANIONS OF COLUMBUS

Though this particular work of Irving's was not published until 1830, its subject matter was definitely linked with his research for "The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus". The idea of this history took shape in Irving's mind as he worked on the "Life", for he felt that it would be a fitting addition to the knowledge of the world concerning this adventurous period. The discoveries of Balboa, Pinzon, Pizzaro, were of the greatest importance in the discovery and development of the American continent. It was one of the ironies of fate that these men were actually to accomplish what Columbus dreamed about.

Irving was at great pains to develop this chronicle in the form of a simple, detailed narrative, from which he kept

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all trace of his own opinions. But, none the less, the reader is guided by the discriminating mind of Irving, who interprets and dramatizes the extraordinary character and exploits of these masterful men. The author succeeded to a remarkable degree in humanizing the period and the people of sixteenth-century Spain and America. Only his own enthusiasm and his closeness to his sources made this possible.

IRVING'S REACTION TO SPANISH HISTORY AND PEOPLES

It is an indisputable fact that Washington Irving's residence in Spain directly influenced his choice of subject-matter. While engaged in the compilation of his life of Columbus, he is constantly making notes of the activities of the Admiral's contemporaries and successors, which he later developed in the form of the work we have just considered. Constant delving among the old records and widespread travels throughout Spain in moments of leisure attracted his attention to the Moors and the part they had played in the history of Spain. His admiration of Mohammedan architecture, of Moorish culture and military achievement, found vent in his next work, "The Conquest of Granada".

Irving brought the unfinished manuscript of the "Conquest" with him to Seville. As he wrote about Granada, he was actually resident in the old Moorish castle as the guest of the Spanish governor. His notebooks and letters amply prove that he was daily stimulated by actual contact with the land in which this epic struggle between Moor and Spaniard occured.

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THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA

Irving considered this work "a kind of literary experiment". Not wishing to jeopardize his literary reputation, he hid his identity behind the pseudonym Fray Antonio Agapida, an anonymity which his publisher, Murray, refused to recognize for purely business reasons. As the author himself wrote, he "colored and tinted" his narrative in an effort to portray the high chivalry and romantic adventure characteristic of war in a highly adventurous age. His enthusiastic love for the country of which he wrote colored every page and he succeeded beyond the power of most historians in recreating an age and revivifying long-gone personalities. The danger of the chronicle type of history is its liability to monotony. The same public which had acclaimed his two previous Spanish works failed to respond so enthusiastically to "The Conquest of Granada".

DIPLOMATIC AND LITERARY HONORS

Washington Irving's stay in Spain was brought to an abrupt end by his appointment as Secretary of Legation to the Court of St. James. Devoid of political ambition, he gave way to his brother Ebenezer's earnest wish that he enter political life.

His arrival in England was the signal for the award of various distinguished literary honors. In April of the year . 1830 he was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Society of Literature and in June of the same year Oxford University conferred

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upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Diplomatic life irked the studious nature of this simple man of letters. His official duties left him little time or inclination for literary effort. The transfer of the American Minister, Mr. McLane, offered him a legitimate excuse to offer his own resignation. After seventeen years of residence in foreign lands Irving returned, in 1832, to the land of his birth. He had established himself as an international figure in the profession of letters. A voluntary exile from his homeland until he should achieve that goal, he returned to a country eager to acclaim him.

CRAYON MISCELLANY

While in London in 1830, Washington Irving became acquainted with Colonel Wildman, an old schoolmate of Lord Byron and the new owner of Newstead Abbey, once a part of the Byron estate. Realizing the ghostly reputation of the old Abbey, he accepted an invitation to visit the place and a series of sketches on Newstead Abbey, appearing in the second number of "The Crayon Miscellany", was the result. Living as he was at Tarrytown, his thoughts often turned to other lands and times and he had only to consult his notebook for the necessary inspiration.

These sketches dealt with old English customs and characters, with the time-honored superstitions of the Abbey, which turned out to be vague indeed. Irving found himself much more interested in Annesley Hall than in Newstead Abbey, for it was

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here that Mary Chaworth, Byron's first and life-long love, had resided. These sketches, written after the lapse of years, were scarcely worthy of Irving at his best, but "Abbotsford", which concluded the second number of the Miscellany, was a labor of love and a charming tribute to the friend of his youth, Sir Walter Scott.

Seldom does one encounter a more delightful or revealing narrative of family happiness than that of "Abbotsford". It is a perfect portrait of the lovable old Scot whose breadth of human interest enveloped every man. Irving frequently confessed that these days with Scott had proved the happiest of his life and he never forgot the encouragement and practical aid which Scott had freely tendered him at the most critical period of his early literary career. The death of Scott undoubtedly influenced Irving in his decision to include this memorable sketch in his latest work. Though scarcely to be classed among Irving's greatest works, the Miscellany was first published in the United States and met with great favor, as the author's popularity was then at its peak.

APPOINTMENT OF IRVING AS UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SPAIN

In 1841 Washington Irving received what he considered the "crowning honor" of his life, the appointment as United States Minister to the Court of Spain. National recognition of Irving's hold upon the popular imagination of European peoples dictated his appointment, as well as the pride of the American people in the achievements of their chief literary genius. Irving

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accepted the position out of a sense of the honor conferred and of loyalty to his own country, rather than from any desire to hold a diplomatic post.

His four years at Madrid were years of literary sterility, such were the demands of his diplomatic duties upon body and mind. His only literary work while Minister to Spain was the revision of a life of Mahomet, which he had begun years before upon his first visit to Spain. Irving gladly relinquished his diplomatic post in Spain after four years service and returned in 1846 to his beloved Sunnyside at Tarrytown.

MAHOMET AND HIS SUCCESSORS

It was natural for Irving to turn for inspiration as an author to the vast storehouse of foreign recollection and impression derived from long years of residence abroad. His interest in Spanish and Moorish themes never failed him. Freed from pressing financial cares, he was glad to write, he said, at half price, upon a subject so near his heart.

The first part of "Mahomet and His Successors" was devoted to a biography of Mahomet, the religious and secular leader of the Arabs, who did so much to weld the antagonistic Arabian tribes into a great nation whose culture and military achievements so greatly affected the history of the world. The biography follows the career of the great leader from his birth to his death, explaining with unbiased clarity and understanding his religious tenets and his military successes, which laid the foundations

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of the great Arabian Empire.

The second part of the work traced the development of Arabian conquest from the death of Mahomet to the invasion of Spain in the first decade of the eighth century. There was to Irving a high romance in the growth of a coalition of wild Arab tribes into a great Moslem empire which threatened to over-run all Europe.

Irving wished to make use of such material as he had gathered in the process of preparing his other works in Spain. He called his work a combination of biography and chronicle, which he adopted because it permitted him the informality of introducing all the anecdote and comment that he wished. He produced, as always, a work of interest and literary charm, yet it seems to lack something of the spontaneity of his "Conquest of Granada". Possibly the passage of the years and his absence from Spain were in part responsible for a book which, though favorably received by the American public, added little to his literary laurels.

LIFE OF OLIVER GOLDSMITH

The source of inspiration for this biography is traceable only in part to foreign residence. Rambles in literary London had often brought Irving into contact with all that remained of the environment of famous eighteenth century writers, but it was his own early love of the famous poet and dramatist that induced him to write this biography. It was characteristic of

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Irving to wish to champion the cause of a writer whose full worth he believed had never been appreciated. He renounced any intention of a critical estimate of his works, which he felt had already been accomplished long ago. It was very close to his heart, however, to interpret Goldsmith himself to the readers of his own day, for he had always strongly felt that the real Goldsmith had been overshadowed unjustly by his famous contemporaries, who often praised his poems and plays, it is true, but were just as likely to jeer at the idiosyncrasies of a man whom they often failed to understand.

Irving wrote in the spirit of the crusader, possessed with the gentle greatness of the poet, and determined that a cold and sceptical world should do his memory full justice. He was determined that the true nobility of the man should not be obscured by wild tales of his whimsicalities and foibles. Unworldliness was a virtue, he felt, and not a defect; uncalculating generosity a mark of a rare nature, and not an indication of unintelligence.

Engrossed as he was in depicting the true Goldsmith, Irving also painted in broad strokes a background of literary London in the eighteenth century. Such famous figures as Dr. Johnson, Edmund Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, David Garrick, to mention but a few, are seen as the familiars of the odd Irish genius who rose to fame in their very midst. Along with an understanding of Oliver Goldsmith, Irving was determined that his American readers should appreciate the literary heritage with which race

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and language had endowed them.

It is the pathos of the life of Goldsmith that impresses one, however, as Irving doubtless intended. This undersized little man, his pockmocked features of extreme plainness, his habitual walk an awkward shuffle, faced and overcame obstacles that would have overwhelmed a lesser man. Dr. Johnson himself had conquered under similar difficulties and it was this common intrepidity of soul that formed the bond between these otherwise quite dissimilar beings. Reynolds knew and loved his gentleness of soul, which no misfortune or hopelessly unrealizable ambition could taint. It was the hope of Irving that he might interpret Goldsmith to a later age, that it might profit by contact with so great a man. He succeeded gloriously, it seems to me. The biography was much acclaimed upon its publication. I think it one of the most appealing of the works of Washington Irving.

THE COSMOPOLITANISM OF WASHINGTON IRVING

Washington Irving, by nature and circumstance alike, was a true cosmopolitan. Citizen of a growing Republic to which he gave unswerving allegiance all his life, his tolerant mind and understanding heart overleaped the narrow boundaries of race and language, grasping with eager appreciation all that was best in national character and tradition, reaching out with unerring perception for the refinements of life and literature which only age could give to the people and countries which he visited.

In Paris or London, in the English countryside, or in

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the Black Forest, Washington Irving forever sought the significant and the picturesque. The graceful beauty and rich historical associations of the Alhambra stir him profoundly. A simple churchyard burial in rural England inspires him to write a moving narrative of maternal love. A perusal of ancient manuscripts in a Jesuit library at Madrid infuses his receptive imagination and the world is given a new conception of the glories and achievements of ancient Spain. Washington Irving seems an immortal interpreter of the Old World to the New. Had he remained in the New World, an entire world would have been incalculably the loser.

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